

Mummy Wheat

***Egyptian Influence on the Homeric View of the
Afterlife and the Eleusinian Mysteries***

R. Drew Griffith

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ΚΟΥΦΑ ΣΟΙ ΧΘΩΝ Ε-
ΠΑΝΩΘΕ ΠΕΣΟΙ, ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΑΡΤΙ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΩ.

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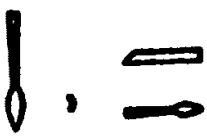
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HIEROGLYPHS MENTIONED IN THIS WORK

D3		“nature”
F35		“good, beautiful”
G53		“soul”
H6		“truth” (sometimes “true”)
K4		“corpse”
N27		“horizon”
O31		“door”
P8		“voice”

xvi



Hieroglyphs Mentioned in this Work

R7

(in combination with G53) "soul"



R8

"god"



S34

the *ankh*, "life"



U1

"he sees"



Aa11

"true"

Minoan Hieroglyph 39, meaning unknown



The Linear B syllabogram for *wo*



The Linear B ideogram for "woman"



TABLE OF DATES

<i>Third Millenium</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>The Greek world</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>
2730 ±720		Helleniko pyramid	
2625-2475	artificial irrigation		
ca. 2589-66	pyramid of Khufu (Cheops)		
2375-45	Unas r. (= rules)		
2345-2182	6 th dynasty (includes Menkare)		
2260 ±710		Ligourio pyramid	
<i>Twentieth century</i>			
2040-1640	Middle Kingdom		
2000-1550		MH period	
1929-1895	Ammenemes II r.		
<i>Nineteenth century</i> –			
<i>Eighteenth century</i>			
1842-1794	Ammenemes III r.		
ca. 1710	Nebankh dies		
<i>Seventeenth century</i>			
1650-1567	17 th dynasty (includes Sobkemsaf)		

Sixteenth century

1500-1400

LH II period

Peshkilishu
terrorizes Nuzi

ca. 1540-1075 New Kingdom

1540-1292 18th dynasty

1511

Danaus comes to Argos

1503-1482 Hashepsowe r.

*Fifteenth century –**Fourteenth century*

1417-1379 Amenhotep III r.

1408

Demeter comes to Eleusis

1400-1000

LH III period

1380-1340

Šuppiluliumaš r.
Hittites

1379-1362 Akhenaten r.

1373 Akhetaten founded

1318-04 Seti (Sethos) I r.

Thirteenth century

ca. 1250

Troy VIIa falls

Khumban-
numena I r. Elam*Twelfth century*

1125

Sobkemsaf II's tomb
robbed*Ninth-tenth centuries –**Eighth century*

800-700

Greek colonizing

750-650

orientalizing period

Seventh century

691-689

Khumban-
numena II r.

Elam

668-633

Ashurbanipal r.
Assyria

669/8

Battle of Cenchreae

ca. 650

Eleusinian sanctuary revamped

630

Cyrene founded

610 Naucratis founded

Sixth century

ca. 600

Cleobulus of Lindos

528/7

Peisistratus dies

525 Cambyses II invades

Fifth century

476

Theron's Olympic win

432

New Parthenon

*Fourth-third centuries –**Second century*112/1 P. calls Amenhotep III's
 colossi "Memnonium"*First century*

27 earthquake

First Millenium A.D.

20-205 "Vocal Memnon" inscribed

170 Septimius Severus visits Egypt

272 Zenobia of Palmyra restores
 "Vocal Memnon"?*Second Millenium 1453-1821*

Turks rule Greece

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much has appeared before. Still, no random clutch of minor writings, but from the start an organic whole, its parts have seen the light elsewhere as early reports of findings and ground-work for this volume. The value added, and why I set this before the public, is threefold. First, the studies were in different venues, with diverse readerships, and no one has read all together, yet they draw on facts and reasoning clear only between one set of covers. Second, I use better data and arguments from readers of the published work, some sceptical (e.g. Currie 2006: 28 n. 127), some not. Last, I now give pictures, since Mycenaeans took from Egypt as much through artefacts as texts.

The work's history follows: section 1.4 appeared in *ICS* 22 (1997) 1-6 after advice from the late C. J. Ruijgh and two anonymous referees.

Part of Chapter Two, as well as other sections I read at a conference on Homeric contexts at York University, Toronto on 14 October 2000; I thank Jonathan Burgess and Matthew Clark for inviting me, and those present for discussion. It next appeared in *Phoenix* 55 (2001) 213-43, helpfully criticised by Jonathan Edmondson, Gay Robins, James P. Allen, and especially Erwin Cook. Section 2.1 came out in *JIES* 27 (1999) 79-85, section 2.2 in *AJP* 118 (1997) 353-62 after good advice from a referee, and section 2.4 in *AJP* 123 (2002) 541-47 improved thanks to Barbara Gold.

Part of Chapter Three, as well as other sections appeared in *SMEA* 39 (1997) 219-40. Section 3.3 appeared partly in *AJP* 116 (1995) 1-5, partly in *GRBS* 35 (1994) 339-44, and section 3.5, not before published, was helped by Christopher Collard, plus a brief note in *Athenaeum* 88 (2000) 276. I gave section 3.7 at a symposium on heroes and hero-worship at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario

on 12 March 2005.

I read a draft of Chapter Four, “Le Origini della figura mitologica di Memnone, re degli Etiopi”, at the University of Siena on 1 April 1998. I thank Maurizio Bettini for inviting me, those present for comments, and two referees for *CA*, where the work next appeared (17 [1998] 212-34).

Section 5.2 came out in *CQ* 55.2 (2005) 329-34, made better by Taryn Webb and a referee. Section 5.3 came out in *Athenaeum* 84 (1996) 251-54. I read a version of section 5.4—my first stab at the topic—at the Classical Association of Canada’s annual meeting in Charlottetown, P.E.I. on 24 May 1992, before publishing it in *Sileno* 19 (1993) 91-100.

Section 6.2 was seen in *Glotta* 72 (1994 [1995]) 20-23; part of section 7.3 in *AHB* 8.4 (1994) 121-22.

I read Chapter Eight on 22 June 2001 at a symposium on balneology at the Villa Vergiliana, Baia (Napoli), Italy. I thank Symposium Director, Patricia Johnston for her hospitality, R. A. Moody Jr. for support, Ross Kilpatrick for notes on ancient mirror-gazing, and K. J. Doka for helpful criticism.

Two grants came from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, one from the Advisory Research Committee of Queen’s University, which let me spend the winter of 1998 at the University of Urbino, and two from discretionary funds of Queen’s Office of Research Services, one of which sent me in January 2004 to Egypt and my guide, Akram A. Moneim’s humane wisdom, and the other of which provided a generous publishing-subvention. I thank then Associate Dean of Arts and Science, Patrick O’Neil for the 1998 leave.

My then Head of Department, Dietmar Hagel, and Martin Bernal, who opened my eyes, as many others’, to Greeks’ debt to Egypt, heartened one in a field Martin West (1997: vii) claims not to exist. I have not met Dr. Bernal, though we have written and I admire him, nor am I his epigone or anyone else’s.

I heed a SSHRCC-referee (the late Emily Vermeule, I think) that I illustrate my work.

Carlo Brillante, John Pairman Brown, Stanley Burstein, Ron Leprohon, Sarah Morris, Kurt Raaflaub and Rachad Shoucri gave kind words. Thanks to Micah Ross, who critiqued the original articles, Michael Pacey for the maps, and Erin Gunsinger for digitizing the figures. Caroline Falkner, Roger Martin and Christine Overall gave tips on the book-trade and egged me on to tackle it. Gloria D’Ambrosio-Griffith I often thank in the original articles’ notes and dedicate this book to her with a below-average χαῖκου.

Essay, not survey, this would rather convince that Egypt tinged certain Homeric ideas, than give a catalogue raisonné of all instances; for example, Greek for “lion”, λέων may come from Egyptian *rw*, a recumbent lion and so lion-statue, rather than the living beast, *m3i* (cf. *The Guardian Weekly* 7 Dec. 1997 p. 25), yet I shall not dwell on this here. Likewise I do not explore W. Schenkel’s (1998) theory that the lotus-eater episode in *Odyssey* 9 derives from an Egyptian pun on *sšn*, “lotus” and *shm*, “to cause to forget”.

Personal thanks to Chris Brown for three decades’ talk of poetry and life; Sarah

“the seraph” Reid for her healing wings; and my sons Matt and Graham and partner Jan Le Clair, who, simply, are my world.

This book has had a breach birth. Three presses ignored my approach-letters, twenty wrote “Dear John” replies, and four put it to referees before brushing it off. Hear some of their thoughts:

I find the reading of the text simply painful, even horrifying, on account of the flimsiness of the arguments. . . . It gives me often the impression of a caricature of philology, it is philology gone crazy. . . . Just to show how beautiful Amenophis III was, the author includes a depiction of Akhenaten, his son, who was *not* a beautiful man. This is worse than everything else—it is simply infantile.

The material is spirited, thoughtful, often certainly wrong but in interesting ways. The book is not dull. It is also sort of crazy.

It is an interesting book—it is not boring. Really, it is an exercise in etymology, in hopes that etymology might cast light on early relations between Greece and Egypt. As such, it sometimes seems as if the author is trying to kill a gnat with an atom bomb. . . . As often as not I don’t believe his conclusion, or it is entirely wrong-headed, or even ridiculous, or likely for other reasons; yet a devious path to a wrong conclusion can be very interesting.

Griffith is learned, ingenious, energetic in argument; he writes clearly and often engagingly. Though some of his arguments seem to me wild (flying temples), this is a work of scholarship which would not disgrace the press. . . . But it has not come close enough to persuading me on any major issue for me to recommend publication.

and

The author is knowledgeable on Egyptological matters and clearly has the requisite erudition for an undertaking of this sort. What he does not have. . . is the requisite judgment and rigour in making comparisons.

An atom bomb, crazy, horrifying, infantile, painful, ridiculous, wild, without rigour or judgment: rash and deeply felt, these verdicts speak not so much to the book’s undoubted weakness as to doubts about its core theme that Egyptian religion helped shape Greek and fears that its preferred method of etymological argument is—in the words of yet another referee—“difficult and dangerous, since an etymology has to be very strong to support another argument.” It is the last of these charges that weighs most heavily on me, for as A. E. Housman once said, “the worst of having no judgment is that one never misses it.” Very well. Who, then, to paraphrase Juvenal, will judge the judges? Who will know when this missing quality is present? These criticisms also recall Katharine Whitehorn conjugating irregular verbs: “I am creative; you have a vivid imagination; he is clearly nuts.” It

is testimony to the University Press of America's courage that they said "yes" to a project that trails such invective in its wake.

I treat the afterlife not from idle curiosity, but my own concern, for I wrote as my wife was dying. I might have had better things to do; yet death cheats us enough, if it stop us seeking truth and beauty, best not live at all.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLITERATION

I quote *Pyramid Texts* (here abbreviated *PT*) from Sethe 1948-62 and Faulkner 1969, numbering utterances in boldface and verses in standard type preceded by the symbol §. For photo-reproductions of the originals, see Piankoff 1968. I cite *Coffin Texts* (*CT*) following Faulkner 1973-78; transcriptions of the originals are in de Buck 1935-61. The text of the *Book of the Dead* (*BD*) I quote from Budge's 1895 edition, citing the vignettes by plate-number from Wasserman's 1998 publication of the papyrus of Ani (British Museum 10470/1) recension, which Budge (1895: cxlv) dates—perhaps too early—to ca. 1500-1400. Passages from Pritchard 1969 I cite as *ANET*⁸. *ABL* refers to Haspels 1936, *ABV* to Beazley 1956, *ARV*² to Beazley 1963, *AV* to the *Atharva-Veda*, *EA* to the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which I cite from Mercer 1939, *KUB* to the cuneiform tablets from Hattusha (modern Boğazköy), as published in *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung* 1921, and *RV* to the *Rigveda*. LH means "Late Helladic", LM "Late Minoan", MH "Middle Helladic", N in Egyptian funerary texts stands for the name of the deceased, NDEr "one who has had a near-death experience", *p.* = *papyrus*. Other abbreviations follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. "Homer" here refers to the poet of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. I am not concerned with, nor make any claim about, whether he was one person, or two, or a committee.

With few exceptions that will be clear from context, all dates are before Year One unless otherwise specified; reigns of pharaohs are dated after Edward, Gadd and Hammond (1971: 1.2.995-96 and 2.2.1038).

I assume a grasp of Greek, but try to avoid other foreign words; this is a work of philology, though, and some transliteration was unavoidable. The following may help. Hieroglyphic Egyptian did not record vowels, nor do I here. This leads to built-in phonological fuzziness, which detracts from the cogency of any claim

based on it. Few, I imagine, regret this more than I, yet I strive always to make the best case possible given the data. Moreover, the linguistic case for Egypt-Greece contact, however limited, seems positively precise next to the comparative folklore approach, whereby Vladimir Vikentiev (1946-1947) sees the *Odyssey* as a palimpsest of Egyptian texts. I suggest adding /a/ to each syllable for ease of pronunciation, but this in no way replicates the original sound. Want of vowel-signs requires a syllable-dividing consonant, which marks no sound at all. This letter, which Jews call aleph, I transliterate ʾ. The symbol *i*, despite its vowel-like appearance, represents the semivowel /y/.

International scholarly convention assigns each consonant a single letter with diacritical marks if need be, rather than by the consonant-clusters more familiar to English readers. Beside our /s/ there is also /ts/ as in English “hats” and /sh/ as in English “shirt”, which are here transliterated *š* and *ṣ* respectively. Beside our /k/ is a harder /q/, which unlike in English is not followed by /u/; it is here rendered *ḳ*. Moreover, the Hamito-Semitic languages have consonants unknown to English. Beside our /d/ and /t/ there are also /dj/ and /tj/, here transliterated *ḏ* and *ṭ*. Particularly complex are the laryngeals. Hamito-Semitic languages have, beside our /h/, three variations *ḥ*, *ḥ̣*, and *ḥ̤* and a sound pronounced very deep in the throat (Hebrew *yayin*), here transliterated ‘. Proto-Indo-European also had several laryngeals, which have vanished from Greek, English and most other descendant languages; the convention for transliterating these is to number them: *H*₁, *H*₂, and *H*₃. *H* is written in the Coptic writing of later Egyptian as *ϣ*. Also in Coptic *ϣ* represents /sh/, descendant of the hieroglyph here transliterated *š*; all other Coptic letters in this book are pronounced like the Greek letters they resemble and whence they derive. In transliterating Egyptian I use a dot to mark off suffixes from the stems to which they are attached. In transliterating Hebrew the superscript *e* represents the mobile shwa, which is pronounced as a very short vowel, like the /e/ in “after”. Sanskrit reckons *r̥* as a vowel and pronounced like the /ry/ in “crystal”. The same diacritical mark (̣) is added to certain other letters to compensate for the Roman alphabet, with twelve fewer consonants than Devanagari; the nuances distinguished are hard for English-speakers to catch, different as our own phonemic oppositions are. Convention transcribes Linear B with subscript numerals to distinguish characters, often diphthongs, that stand outside the syllabic grid of vowels on one axis and consonants on the other whereon the basic characters are placed. For example the numeral subscript to the first character in the man’s proper name *A₃-ku-pi-ti-jo* shows that it was pronounced /ai/, while the first character in *a-sa-mi-to*, “bathtub”, not so marked, was pronounced /a/. I here follow convention, as these examples show, and separate the syllables with a hyphen, without taking the next step of normalizing or transcribing the words into their probable pronounced form. With languages written in cuneiform, Akkadian, Hittite and Sumerian, I normally do take this second step, except where a word’s form in one specific text is at issue. In Turkish the dotted *i* is pronounced like the vowel in English “see” while the undotted form is pronounced like the final vowel in “oven”

or “radium” (e.g. Hissarljk).

Words marked with an asterisk are conjectural forms not actually attested. Of several words so marked only two are my own conjectures, namely Greek *’Οσορίων and Hebrew **tarššā*.

The Index of Poetic and Rhetorical Terms is also a glossary.

INTRODUCTION

i.1 The Problem Addressed Here

Homer's is a clear and consistent world-view, a philosophy, if you will. We are always coming to be and passing away. As the generation of leaves, so that of men. We can recall the past, if it ever was so. Zeus doles out both ill and good from the jars on his doorsill, but two banes for every blessing.

We are subject to what each day brings: a day of homecoming, a day of slavery, in the end the pitiless day of death. It is Homer's voice that echoes down the halls of Greek letters: "A rhythm holds our life. All is flux. One cannot step into the same river twice, for into the same rivers ever other and other waters flow. What is one? What is one not? A shadow's dream is man."

Once our wretched life is done, we die and our life-force flies from the body that is our self squeaking like a bat to join the strengthless heads of the dead (ἀμνηνὰ κάρηνα in Homer's striking rhyme), whom we recall, if at all, for but one day. Indeed there is something even in Hades': a life-force and an image—Achilles cries on meeting Patroclus' ghost—; yet there are no wits in it whatsoever, and this statement of our basic impermanence is clear, even if we join Aristophanes of Byzantium in athetizing the second of these lines.

Set against this transitory world, mocking it with unquenchable laughter, is the splendidly permanent realm of the gods, deathless, always youthful, being forever, who are in the words of that most Classical of Christian hymns "to endless years the same". We are not to join them: Greek myth is clear on this point. Do not wave lighted torches and claim to be Zeus. Know thyself! Do not try to rape Artemis, Hera, Leto, or Persephone. No excess! Cast not your ladder against the ramparts and shout that you'll burn Thebes with Zeus or without; or have your wife toss your corpse on a dung-heap and beg Hades for a reprieve to plan your own funeral, then

run off and try to live forever. If you happen to be a physician, stick to curing the sick and do not for whatever fee raise the dead. It was the promise of resurrection that found St. Paul preaching on Mars Hill to a crowd of little more than two. Strive not, my soul, for immortal life, the year warns, and the hours that steal the sheltering day, for once the red clay has you—Paul Valéry adds to Pindar’s prayer—, the gift of life is passed into the flowers.

The picture, I say, is clear. But open *Odyssey* Book Four, and what do you find? A mere nine lines that turn the whole system on its ear, for in them Proteus says casually in passing that Menelaus will not die, but the gods will send him to Elysium, which sounds for all the world—and Proteus quotes from a travel-brochure—like Olympus itself:

But for you it is not fated, Zeus-nurtured Menelaus,
in horse-pasturing Argos to die and fulfil your lot,
but to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth
the gods will send you, where blonde Rhadamanthys is,
where people have the easiest life:
neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays there,
but always the breezes of the fresh-blowing west wind
Ocean sends to cool its people—
since you have Helen, and are Zeus’ son-in-law.

This is no normal dying, true; yet not unique either, for Rhadamanthys, and various unnamed “people” are already there. In fact, what is precisely lacking in this passage is the claim of uniqueness one finds, for example in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, where Utnapishtim in his paradise tells the hero that death is inevitable: “Man is one whose progeny is snapped off like a reed in the canebrake”.¹

Now Proteus’ prophecy is no small flaw, no slip of the tongue or glitch in the epic hard-drive, but an irreparable rent in the metaphysics of Homer’s world, as if a rabbi remarked from the bema that the people of Israel are nothing special, or a priest worked it into his homily that God, as Zarathustra spake, is dead. These things, if true—if believed—, would invalidate millenia of religious faith and practice. Of such an order is this claim. Yet there it sits, evoking no reaction from the poet or his other characters; only Menelaus’ heart swells within as he ponders his sudden lagniappe.

How to explain these lines? I devote most of this book to the theory from the latter half of the nineteenth century, now not so much discredited as ignored,² that Homer borrowed the Elysian field from Egypt, the ancient civilization that more than any other taught that mortals escape this vale of tears forever blessed in a paradisiacal other world. I will argue that Elysium came from Egypt with all the vigour I can muster for the first five chapters. Yet if you accept this, as I hope you will, that is just one way to explain its presence in Homer. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 39) rightly says that if Greeks borrowed the Elysium-idea (and she is countering those who claim it hails from Crete), it would have been to fulfill a need, since religious beliefs are not just borrowed like fashions, but fill a gap in the

borrowing system, even though the exporting one may have shaped that need as it emerged.

The last two chapters deal with the Eleusinian mysteries, which, I argue, embody that need and the experience that met it.

This argument is of great historical moment, since we meet in *Odyssey* Four for the first time in Europe the hope that one may be blessed in the next world. It also touches literary criticism, opening rich new veins of meaning for readers of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The last two chapters, moving this inquiry forward to take in the mysteries, show how this influence tinged the greatest period of Greek history, the classical age.³

i.2 Overview

Since much that follows is quite technical, one may miss the wood for the trees: hence this synopsis, where I lay bare the work's core premisses. Chapter One asks what happens when we die. Homer's answer is bleak, with the glaring exception just noted: the future the Old Man of the Sea foresees for Menelaus. His lot does not fit the belief-system in which it finds itself, unpins the logic of Homer's world. Here we meet our first three assumptions. Greek poets invoke the Muses, daughters of Memory who love to remember; so I take it that *they aimed to preserve and pass on facts and ideas*. Epic is beautiful and expressive, as Greeks are artistic and vibrant, but this is secondary. Early Greek verse is also logical, and for surrealism we must wait for the last century and poets such as Nikos Gatsos. This, at least, has been the premise of all who have sought to solve Homeric puzzles since Aristotle.⁴ It follows that *we must explain the breaks in coherence and logic we find in Greek poems*. As Michael Riffaterre puts it, ungrammaticality is a sign of grammaticality elsewhere—in the intertext. The “intertext” some invoke to explain Menelaus' lot is the Egyptian view of the afterlife. I review the history of this idea and its corollary, moot for the last century, that Egyptians coloured Greek thought, including Homer's, and give a brief snap-shot of the evidence for Egypt-Greece contact archaeologists know today. I then ask how we should evaluate hypothetical Egyptian loan-words in Greek, using as a test-case the only widely accepted such word in Homer, the name “Egypt” itself. Thus I establish as a third principle that *there is no pseudo-scientific mechanism for finding such words*, and, as Kenneth Dover says, aesthetic caprice helps determine linguistic form. I quote these words here as a caution, not an excuse for uncontrolled license or slipshod argument. The chapter ends with parts of the Greek other world that echo the Egyptian afterlife: soggy climate, mongrel monsters, a divine judge whose chief tool is a scale and, of course, Elysium. The sheer number of echoes begs us look further, and brings up the fourth point, that *patterns emerge through repetition*: once never, twice always as Germans succinctly say. That one Egyptian image may have inspired one Homeric phrase means nothing, yet as each is added to the list, the pattern grows stronger.

A chain is, famously, no stronger than its weakest link. Yet this is no chain; my argument is more like a wall: take out any two or three bricks, and the wall still

stands. One might well ask, if there be in this particular wall “bricks” that are false or unconvincing—which is not necessarily the same thing—, why not spare my readers the trouble, and remove them myself? As in a famous tale about Ovid, all my friends who read this manuscript have found three weak arguments in it. Unlike in Ovid’s case, however, no two agree on which they are. Better, then, to leave all, and let each reader judge for herself.

Chapter Two returns to the future—unique in Homer—that the Old Man of the Sea foresees for Menelaus on the Elysian plain. “Elysium” has no clear Greek meaning, and I repeat the old view that it is Egyptian for “reeds” (*i3r.w*) with the Greek ending -σιος added, said of the place where gods send the blessed. These come thither by ship on a celestial river, and other Homeric words echo this practice. They include a river-epithet here rendered “flying in the sky”, since Egyptians spoke of a heavenly flood that rained on those who lacked their own Nile – and I argue that Greeks knew of the real Nile’s yearly flood. Homer describes oars as wings, and his phrase “gods’ temples”, recalling with a phonemic echo the formula for “swift ships”, paints temples as vehicles for gods to travel in. I turn then to Leucothea, who, once a mortal named Ino, drowned herself to become a god. She helps Odysseus reach Scheria, fairy-tale home of the Phaeacians, charging him to turn landward and not look back whence he has come. Apotheosis by drowning, nowhere else in Greek, is found in Egyptian lore. I recall the god who ferries their dead to the other world. He always looks over his shoulder, so I suggest that retrospection during other-world journeys is gods’ prerogative denied to mere humans. The chapter ends questioning Menelaus’ good luck. I suggest that Zeus, having already blocked the threat from Thetis, shut him in the gilded cage of Elysium to counter the danger of matrilineal succession posed by his son-in-law. If so, there may be Egyptian background here too, for such dynasties, rare in Greece, were basic to pharaonic dogma, in which the king was sired by a god not his human forebear, so power should pass through the king’s daughter to her husband, though it seldom did so in practice.

Chapter Three sticks with other-world terms, asking whether μάκαρ, “blessed, happy” comes from Egyptian *m3 ‘hrw*, “true of voice”, said of those set free in the other world after truly listing sins they dodged in life. Egyptians symbolized this state by a feather. This recalls Homer’s “winged words”, a phrase better rendered “feathered utterances”. Why speech would be feathered so troubled later bards that they coined phrases like “the cage of the teeth”, “mortals’ tongues are voluble”, and “to speak without missing the mark”, which call the words “feathered” now as birds escaping the swivelling door of a cage, now as arrows that hit their mark. Thus they situated the phrase in their constellation of metaphors for speech. The bards’ own puzzlement pushes our reading toward other texts, for if they did not grasp the phrase, it cannot be native to their art. I argue that “winged words”/ “feathered utterances” is a calque of the Egyptian “true of voice” noted above. I then ask whether a Semitic word meaning “red thing” and “sea” entered Greek as both the standard name for the Mediterranean and the formula “on the wine-dark sea”. This has nothing to do with Egypt; I raise it to show the double borrowing English

speakers know from “omnipotent” and “almighty”, both from Latin *omnipotens*. I suggest that Homeric heroes’ words were once feathered in the Egyptian sense of being just and true. One in particular, Teiresias spoke the truth only if fed sacrificial blood. This too recalls Egypt, for not only did Egyptians feed their dead, they called such offerings “going forth of the voice”. Mention of the “voluble” tongue prompts an aside on door-imagery whose fruits are twofold. Generally, it reveals a Semitic link to Homer’s lexicon—tellingly, since Phoenicians likely brought Egyptian things and thoughts to Mycenae. So we learn that bards knew the Semitic image for memory, the door-like “tablet of the heart”, which they passed on to their successors in drama, but themselves censored from their verse. This leads to a further point of method, key to Chapter Six, that *Homer does not say all he knows*. I end this section explaining why, if “winged words” was first uttered at funerals, Homer uses the phrase of speech generally, estranged from such contexts.

Chapter Four visits the colossi of Amenhotep III, whom Greeks in the Roman period knew as Memnon, Homer’s Ethiopian king. No mistake grafted onto Amenhotep in the classical period—I argue—, he is a likelier model from the start for Homer’s hero than others mooted, such as pharaoh Ammenemes II and the Elamite god Humban. Though Greek makes Memnon king of the Ethiopians, for them an exotic fairy-tale people, rather than of Egypt, an Egyptian source is suggested by the Egyptian-style weighing of fates prominent in Memnon’s story, whence it was borrowed, some well argue, in Achilles’ tale central to our *Iliad*. Amenhotep’s name and story both support the claim. This chapter shows that Egypt helped shape the nascent epic tradition in the eighteenth dynasty when Amenhotep ruled.

Chapter Five enters the mine-field of colour-terms to find palpably illogical Homeric examples. Homer describes Zeus’ eyebrows as the deep blue of lapis lazuli. Greeks thought their gods human in nature and of the same race as men, so their hair-colour should occur naturally in humans, as does black. Yet Homer repeatedly calls black not Zeus’ hair, but the earth. This too makes no sense, since Greek soil is reddish brown. Then Homer often calls Dawn (or the dawn) “rosy-fingered”. Many scholars think this describes her fingers as rose-like, but cannot decide in what way. More probably the epithet shows them having rather than resembling roses, yet myth gives no glimpse of Dawn holding any flowers, and there are even signs that Greeks had never seen a rose. Finally, Homer calls women “white-armed”, in a clichéd contrast to their tanned male kin. The seeming oddity of calling black hair “blue”, red earth “black”, Dawn holder of what she never could have held, and sun-baked women “white-armed” again pushes us toward other texts. In each case eighteenth-dynasty Egypt gives parallels motivated in context: Egyptians often call gods’ hair lapis lazuli, their flesh gold and bones silver; regularly and rightly call their own well-watered country “the black land”; and under Akhenaten show the sun-disk reaching for offered flowers with rays ending in hands. The dimorphism of white-armed women and tanned men may lead from Egypt, via Crete and the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, to Homer.

This chapter lets us locate Homer’s borrowings as the last one dated them. Since black earth recalls Danaus, who brought irrigation from Egypt to Greece, we

see a link to Lerna. (Danaus is, of course, a standard eponym with no historical heft at all—just as the Trojan War was make-believe til Heinrich Schliemann found the charred shell of Troy, a Greek-speaking Agamemnon a dream til Michael Ventris deciphered Linear B, and Paris of Troy a mere matinee-idol til a Hittite king's treaty with Alaksandu of Wilusa turned up at Boğazköy.) If Akhenaten's rayed sun-disk entered the burgeoning epic word-hoard as "rosy-fingered" Dawn, it may well have come through Rhodes, where local myth told of a very lotus-like rose, a pun on the island's name, that the gods gave the Sun when dividing the cosmos. The Hagia Triada sarcophagus seems both to suggest that Minoans, friends of Rhadamanthys, dreamed of a blessed afterlife, and that the dream came there from Egypt. Perhaps, then, these ideas moved north through Crete to Rhodes and thence the centre of the Mycenaean world, the Argolid.

Chapter Six asks how and why Egyptian words and ideas came to Greece. I start with "nectar", a word like "Elysium" of unknown origin—normally the gods' drink, but once dripped into dead Patroclus' nostrils, as in mummifying. Here too is a point of method: *we should always prefer the harder of two meanings*, since a rare or, as here, unique sense is more likely original. Given its use in embalming, I derive "nectar" from *ntry*, Egyptian for the "divine" substance, carbonate of soda, used in making mummies. I suggest that once "nectar" had come to mean a drink, Greeks borrowed the Egyptian word again as "natron". Egyptians traded sodium carbonate to Greeks, and with it words about the afterlife. This trade followed the route through Crete, home of Homer's divine judge, Rhadamanthys, via Rhodes, home of roses, to Argos, last stop for Danaus. Key to this trade were poets, valued palace-officials, some of whom were from the Levant and spoke Akkadian, lingua franca of the time. If Egypt influenced Homer, as I claim, why deny or ignore the fact? Sparse clues turn many agnostic. But why so few facts? Bards seem to have looked down on some things—Dionysus and Demeter, for example—, especially those to do with foreigners. So, though epic is the oldest Greek verse we have, it is not always the best guide to its own history, and news of Egyptian influence in Aeschylus, Herodotus and Plato among others—do they preen themselves with a bogus lineage, or do rather scholars err, who cock their brows and discard the ancient claims?—may count more than Homer's silence. The chapter ends suggesting that centuries of oral transmission failed to cleanse Homer of Egyptian echoes, since Greeks saw Elysium as the charter for a world they hoped to enter after death, a hope they were to enshrine in the Eleusinian mysteries.

This segues to the last two chapters, which trace our main subject forward to Classical times, when the posthumous godsend first broached in the *Odyssey* became fixed in the mysteries. Chapter Seven notes that when Danaus watered Argos, he paved the way for agriculture, work of Demeter, who came to Eleusis a century later in mythic time. Myth gives her no origin, but Herodotus and others call her Isis, and like tales about Iambe (alias Baubo) and the Egyptian Hathor support this link. Barley was indeed grown in Egypt before Greece. We consider "Osiris beds"—seed-trays buried to sprout in mummies' tombs—that show that Egyptians made the analogy, carried west by St. Paul (were the "gardens of Adonis" an

intermediary?), between a seed sown in earth to grow a new plant and the buried dead risen to a blessed afterlife. Greeks themselves never used this image, but implied it in Demeter's two-fold gift of grain and entry to Elysium. We end noting how much alike are the names Elysium and Eleusis.

Chapter Eight situates Greek borrowings in the mind, as Chapter Four did in time and Five in space. Initiates could not discuss the mysteries, our sources are cryptic, and our insight small. Still, reading between the laconic lines we glimpse that, as Plutarch noted, they underwent what we now call near death experiences—the sense that human speech cannot describe the event, hence a reluctance to speak of it; the feeling of meeting both those who have already died and a mysterious being of light whom Greeks called Persephone; reaching a border and having to return; and, as long-term results, new empathy for others and being sure that one will live on in a place Greeks called Elysium. To account for these facts I suggest the Hierophants had learned to keep out sound and light, give hallucinogens, whether ergot of rye, opium, or mushrooms, and use suggestion to bring on near death experiences as a sort of vaccine against the fear of death. This is not told by Homer, or native to Greece. If the Hierophants found it abroad, it was likely in Egypt, home of the Elysium-idea itself.

i.3 A Three-Fold Caveat

I end the Introduction with what this book is not. A Classicist with doctor-fathers from Emmet Robbins, through Leonard Woodbury to Werner Jaeger and Hermann Diels, I well write on Homer. Yet I stray here into other fields: Aegean studies, Bronze Age archaeology, and Egyptology, to name a few. Though I love them and respect the disciplines that bear on them, I am an amateur in the fullest sense. This colours my method; hence two more premises. Philologists prefer texts to artefacts, words to things. Moreover, works of Greek-speakers like Herodotus, Horapollo, Manetho, Pausanias, Plutarch and Strabo loom large here, since I can control them within the remit of my professional competence. Sadly, just these texts have fallen afoul of Egyptologists, thanks to unscrupulous use to which Athenasius Kircher and others put some in the seventeenth century. Classicists may be more forgiving. That the good father published the music to Pindar's First *Pythian*, which he “found in a manuscript” sporting an emendation published the year before does not stop us today from studying or quoting Pindar's ode, nor do we fail to make judicious use of Horapollo.

Second, I believe the poet Homer keenly attuned to words. If you think “winged” words are just those “quickly passed from one person to another”, “rosy-fingered” dawn says no more than “red in the morning”, or “oars, which are wings for ships” is a snazzy way to say that oars serve ships as wings do birds, namely, by moving them, then put this book down before you hurt yourself. You might get a paper-cut, or more painful yet, an idea.

I leave the most vital point for last. Scholarship comes, roughly, in two forms: aloof report on the evidence, and partisan defence of a position. Both mimic something else. Reports emulate field-work in the natural sciences; position-papers

ape courtroom oratory. Each has clear flaws. The latter downplays evidence that tells against its thesis, and so distorts the subject. The former, steadfastly refusing to sift grain from chaff, and slipping into agnosticism whenever facts run thin, is often dull. And make no mistake: to reduce to tedium such a subject as we have here is also distortion. Let it stand as a Surgeon General's warning at the outset that this is an unabashed defence of the thesis that Egypt influenced the afterlife we find in Homer and Eleusis, and that it has all the strengths and weaknesses of that particular genre.

Such is our purpose; let us make our way.

1. BROUGHT FORTH FROM THE LAND OF EGYPT

1.1 *What Happens When We Die?*

Our soul leaves the body that is our self and squeaking like a bat flies to the underworld, there barely to exist, reft of light, strength, and joy; so the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* consistently say.¹ Moreover, this yields the *Iliad*'s moral code, for the presence of countless, ineluctable fates of death makes heroes risk their lives for the ersatz immortality of fame.² Stark witness to this bleak vision is Achilles' regret, once he has tasted death, that he chose a short life of fame over a long, nameless one.³ Yet there is one exception, for Proteus tells Menelaus, when stranded in Egypt, that he will not die, for the gods will give him a care-free lot in Elysium.⁴ Whence comes this view, so at odds with that found elsewhere in both epics? Jaan Puhvel (1969 = 1981: 210-215) claims an Indo-European provenance and Walter Burkert (1961) a Greek. Burkert's theory has been widely embraced; others, though, have thought both name and concept foreign, just as many have suspected of Proteus⁵. If borrowed, it surely does not hail from the Semitic east, where Babylonians repeated Enkidu's depressing eyewitness account of Hell, and Jews, mindful of the Rephaim huddled in Sheol, said simply, "better a living dog than a dead lion". Garth Alford (1991) has compiled a strong brief to support the old view that Elysium comes instead from the Egyptian Field of Reeds, that suburb of the heavenly other world of the Duat wherein dead pharaohs, and later commoners too, spend eternity.⁶

This book asks whether Menelaus' trip to Elysium and a few other atypically positive views of the afterlife of which we catch rare glimpses in Homer hail from Egypt. In the course of it, we will come to a new appreciation of certain familiar aspects of epic vocabulary, and even, in a small way, of Mycenaean and classical Greek culture itself.

1.2 History of the Hypothesis

At first sight, the subject seems unpromising. That there may have been some relation between Greek and Egyptian culture has been repeatedly mooted, but till recently always on the fringes of Classical scholarship. Jean-François Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphic writing by his *Précis du système hiéroglyphique* of 1824 cast into brilliant relief the once obscure nature of the oldest Mediterranean culture. Inspired by this wealth of information, Franz Joseph Lauth published his *Homer und Aegypten* in 1867, in which he argued that there were Egyptian loan-words in Homeric Greek.⁷ This was not a matter of Egyptian words for recognizably Egyptian things like pyramids and ibises,⁸ but of words that had passed into the mainstream Greek lexicon. With this work Lauth entered virtually unknown scholarly terrain.⁹ His pamphlet was not widely circulated, but he sent a copy to British Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, who spent his spare time after the defeat of his first government in 1874 attacking the doctrine of papal infallibility and advocating Lauth's theories of Egypt's influence on Homer. The latter works he collected as *Homeric Synchronism* in 1876 (esp. 265-72). In the same year Schliemann, digging at Mycenae, uncovered among other things many Egyptian artefacts, unleashing the ever-increasing flood of archaeological evidence for Bronze-Age Egyptian trade with Greece that we will briefly outline in the next section, evidence brought forcefully to the notice of philologists of my generation by Emily Vermeule's (1979: 42-82) work on death in early Greek art and poetry.

On the minus side, Max Müller (1832-1900) showed that Greek and Sanskrit were akin, which implied a common Proto-Indo-European tongue and ensured a high degree of recognisably "Greek" content in Greek language and culture before the proto-Hellenes ever entered the Mediterranean basin. This led to a comparative Indo-European mythology pioneered by Georges Dumézil (1898-1986) and a concomitant poetics in the work of scholars such as Julian Baldrick, Douglas Frame, Gregory Nagy and Calvert Watkins. Moreover, scholars, not knowing what tongue Mycenaeans spoke till Ventris deciphered the Linear B tablets in 1953 and conclusively proved that they spoke Greek,¹⁰ clumsily and, as it turns out needlessly, hypothesized a third linguistic group allegedly inhabiting Greece during the Bronze Age before Greek tribes came. This problem beset Martin P. Nilsson's magisterial work, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, which appeared in 1928 (second edition 1950) and which, among other things, recognized that Homer's Elysium came to Greece via Minoan Crete perhaps ultimately from an Egyptian source (pp. 619-33). As a result, little work was done on the Egypt-Greek connection in the years between Gladstone and Ventris.

Meanwhile, toward the end of his life, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was goaded by the Marr-affair¹¹ into publishing five letters in *Pravda* on the relationship of language to class hegemony, and spurred on by these reflections, later collected as *Marxism and Linguistics* (1972: 407-44), linguist P. V. Ernsted (1953) made a fresh attempt, in the same year that Ventris showed that Mycenaeans spoke Greek, to argue for Egyptian influence on Homeric and post-Homeric Greek. His work has never been translated, was not reviewed in the major classical journals, and, like

Lauth's work, has had scant influence.

In the years following Ernstedt's book, the possibility that Egypt influenced Greek has been the subject of a mere handful of scattered articles by Constantin Daniel (1962), Bertrand Hemmerdinger (1968), A. G. McGready (1968), Josep Padró (1969), and Richard Holton Pierce (1971), the latter of whom is openly hostile to the idea. These articles stand clearly outside the mainstream of Greek etymology, to say nothing of Homeric philology, obsessed as it has been for much of the last century by the oral-formulaic hypothesis. Scholars may then still have endorsed Erwin Rohde's (1925: 242) view that the Egyptians were overpoweringly dogmatic and without imagination, while the Greek fancy flew as a god lightly over things, without falling ponderously prostrate.

Since the mid-eighties the situation has seen a sea-change, and the issue of Egyptian contact is suddenly no longer so rich and strange as it has long seemed. For one thing, we better understand the orientalizing period, and the near eastern influence that as the term implies reached Greece at that time, when the master poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were putting the finishing touches on their work. This is reflected in Burkert's *The Orientalizing Revolution* (1992, German ed. 1984) and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (2004, Italian ed. 1990), Martin West's "The Rise of the Greek Epic" (1988), and *The East Face of Helicon* (1997), and Sarah Morris' "Homer and the Near East" (1997). These scholars do not chiefly consider near eastern influence during the Mycenaean period, but recognition of contact in the fifth and sixth centuries encourages one to look for it at an earlier date also.¹² For another thing, Martin Bernal's two decade-long project, *Black Athena*, whose first volume appeared in 1987, second in 1991, and third 2006—he took a hiatus to reply to critics in 2001—, has successfully raised the consciousness not only of professional classicists but of interested lay-persons in this and other kindred issues, and has sparked widespread response.¹³ Bernal, though, is a historian, not a philologist, and the linguistic side of his argument, which principally concerns us here, has met with varying reactions.¹⁴

Any individual hypothesis of borrowing must stand or fall on its own merits, but the a priori objections once raised against such cases are now no longer in play. Proof that a word came from one language to another as a different word would need six elements. The first—that contact between speakers of the two languages, and hence the possibility of transmission, be proved—is in all cases under consideration here established by the archaeological record. The remaining five, which will have to be assessed separately in each case, are as follows. Both words would have to sound the same given the phonetic parameters of the recipient language. They would also have to mean the same thing. The word in the source language would have to be attested before the received word; no third word could be a credible common source for both; and there could be no synonym for the word in the recipient language, indicating a lexical void to be filled, by borrowing if need be. Two further features tend to mark borrowings, though counter-examples are not wanting:¹⁵ in languages with unequal levels of material culture, borrowing tends to

proceed from that of greater culture to that of lesser, and tends to involve words for technological items, cultural artefacts, and religious concepts; English, for example, has borrowed words for cappuccino and sushi on the one hand and Eucharist and resurrection on the other, but not words for nose or father. Even if all these criteria be met, one might still suspect coincidence rather than borrowing, but this possibility would shrink virtually to nil where there is a cluster of words within the same semantic field, all borrowed from a common source. Proper names form a special case in which we meet three related processes: syncretism, in which preexisting figures are conflated; derivation, whereby new figures are modelled on one another as doublets; and confusion, when figures share names or common attributes. Derivation is the opposite of syncretism; confusion a partial form of it.

1.3 Contact between Mycenae and Egypt

Well over a thousand fragments of LH IIIA 2 pottery, probably made on Rhodes or Cyprus, were found at Akhetaten (modern Tell el-Amarna).¹⁶ Egypt is known to the Linear B tablets,¹⁷ and the *Odyssey* speaks of Egyptian Thebes as a city from which visitors could bring back rich presents and of the river “Egypt”, where one went to trade or rob.¹⁸ The artistic revolution of Amenhotep IV Akhenaten’s reign has been attributed in part to such Aegean influence, and influence could certainly flow the other way as well.¹⁹ The easiest way for artistic media and conventions to travel is with the artists themselves. Manfred Bietak (1996: 73-76) recently found at the sometime Hyksos capital of Avaris (modern Tell el-Dab’a) frescos painted at the outset of the eighteenth dynasty that depict bull-leaping and other acrobatics. Nanno Marinatos and other experts who have studied them confirm them the work of Minoan hands.²⁰

Traces of Egyptian influence in Homer can perhaps be seen in one of his two references to roses, the word “rose-scented”, which occurs only when Aphrodite anoints Hector’s body with immortal rose-scented olive-oil so Achilles cannot mutilate it.²¹ Though Homer ascribes this and other cases of embalming to the gods, it seems to recall actual, if atypical, Mycenaean practice.²² Further textual evidence for Mycenaean embalming is the lengthy prothesis and the use of *ταρχύειν* to mean “to bury”, if this is an early form of *ταριχεύειν*, “to pickle”.²³ Archaeological evidence is the existence of MH intramural burials and a body at Mycenae, alleged by Schliemann (1878: 296) to be well preserved after three millenia.²⁴ That Mycenaeans learned mummification from Egypt, like the Israelites, is suggested by the fact that it is into Patroclus’ nostrils that Thetis drips nectar and ambrosia, since in the Egyptian rite, excerebration was performed via the nasal cavity.²⁵ Linear B tablets perhaps also show rose-scented oil used to tend the dead.²⁶

Tantalizing in this context are the pyramids at Helleniko and Ligourio in the Argolid described by Theodor Wiegand (1901) at the start of the last century and thereafter excavated by Louis E. Lord and Robert L. Scranton (1938) (FIGURE 1). Pausanias’ description led Lord to think they were built after the battle of Cenchreae, and a site-survey by Christos Piteros (1997: 3.343-94) showed no use of the land before the fourth century, but Ioannis Liritzis (1994, 1998) along with

P. S. Theocaris and R. B. Galloway (1997) used thermoluminescence dating to assign them dates roughly contemporary with the pyramids on the Giza plateau in Egypt.²⁷ That structures of such a familiarly Egyptian shape are found where the myth of Danaus says Egyptians came to Greece at the time of the great pyramid-building in Egypt suggests early contact between the two cultures. Egypt-Greek contact continued throughout the dark-ages, as proved by the heroon at Lefkandi on Euboea and the “Isis-grave” at Eleusis, which have yielded Egyptian artefacts dating to the geometric period.²⁸

1.4 Criteria for Evaluating Hypothetical Egyptian Loan-Words in Greek: The Case of Αἴγυπτος

Jay H. Jasanoff and Alan Nussbaum, in critiquing the Egyptian etymologies for Greek words proposed by Bernal, espouse an extreme form of positivism in evaluating and largely rejecting those proposals. They write (1996: 184 and 199-89) that convincing examples of loan-words in Greek exhibit three features: the semantic match between the Greek words and their Semitic and Egyptian counterparts is exact, the identity of meaning is matched by a striking similarity of form, and the loan-words are for the most part completely isolated, not only in the sense that they lack convincing Indo-European etymologies but also in that they are not visibly derived from other, simpler Greek words or roots. Jasanoff and Nussbaum allow for some phonetic naturalization during the borrowing process, but explain this by saying that the sounds of the source language are replaced by their closest equivalents in the target tongue.

When it comes to specific loan-words, they (p. 188) write that under any reasonable standard of philological rigour, the only genuinely old Egyptian borrowing in Greek is Αἴγυπτος, “Nile, Egypt”. They are not alone in considering this word, whatever its uniqueness in that regard, a virtually certain example of an Egyptian loan. Heinrich Brugsch’s (1854: 1.83) conjecture is commonly, and with good reason accepted²⁹ that this word comes from the Egyptian *ḥ(w)t-k3-ptḥ*, /hatkapˁta/, “house of the soul of the god Ptah”,³⁰ which is the religious name of Memphis (modern Saqqara), the capital city of Egypt some forty kilometres upriver from the Nile delta. This name appears as *Ḫi-ku-(up-)ta-ah* in the Akkadian of the Amarna Tablets.³¹ That the word had been borrowed into Greek already in Mycenaean times is proved by the existence in Linear B of a man’s name, *A₃-ku-pi-ti-jo*, “Aegyptius”, which is the adjective derived from Αἴγυπτος.³²

The present section proposes to test Jasanoff and Nussbaum’s criteria for evaluating loan-words against the oldest example that they allow, considering in turn the semantics, phonetics, and degree of isolation of Αἴγυπτος.

As to semantic content, while the Egyptian term denotes a city, Homer’s word denotes in the masculine the river Nile and in the feminine the land of Egypt. After Homer the word came to be used just of the land, and Greeks had to find a new name specifically for the river. The Linear B evidence suggests that this development had already begun in Mycenaean times: Aegyptius was an “Egyptian” rather than a “Nilotic man”. The Nile is a major landmark and so deserved a name,

yet Egyptians themselves did not give it one, calling it either simply “the river” or, in the appropriate season, the annual “inundation”.³³ Greeks named the river after the most important city on it and, needing a name for the whole country, quite naturally—for Egypt is the gift of the river³⁴—applied that name in the feminine to the land as a whole. Other peoples used other strategies: Akkadian called it “the border land”; Egyptians themselves called it various things, most notably “the black land”, a term arguably familiar to Mycenaean bards.³⁵ The ambiguity that resulted from applying the same term to both river and land was resolved by coining, perhaps from Egyptian *n3 r3w-h3w(t)*, “the mouths of the front part”,³⁶ the term Νεῖλος, “Nile” to designate the river.³⁷ There is nothing strange in this. Cities can give their names to lands, as Homer uses “Sidonians” of Phoenicians in general;³⁸ cities can also share their names with rivers, for Sybaris and Siris in the feminine denote cities and in the masculine the rivers on whose banks they stand. Semantically, then, the development from *h(w)t-k3-ptḥ* to Αἴγυπτος conforms perfectly to Greek usage. It falls far short, however, of Jasanoff and Nussbaum’s requirement of an exact semantic match.

The situation regarding phonetics is probably similar, though complicated by our ignorance of the transmission-process. While in classical authors Egyptian words beginning with *hwt* are hellenized like Ἀθῶρ (from *Ht-hr*) and *Pth* is transliterated as Φθά,³⁹ in early borrowings the second-declensional ending is normal, both for masculines and feminines,⁴⁰ and Αἴγυπτος was both, with a different gender for each of its two meanings. The -υπτ- element in Αἴγυπτος conforms perfectly to the Akkadian form, *Hi-ku-(up-)ta-aḥ*, its probable model. The gamma may be explained by postulating as a second intermediary language one of the pre-Greek tongues of Minoan Crete: from the fact that the Linear B signs *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, and *ku* express both Greek /k/ and /g/ so that, for example, *ke-ra* represents both κέρας, “horn” and γέρας, “token of honour”,⁴¹ we can deduce that the Minoan language originally expressed by the Cretan syllabic script made no phonological opposition between voiced and unvoiced stops. The only morphological puzzle is the first syllable, which for some reason combines the /a/ postulated for vocalizing Egyptian *h(w)t* and the /i/ into which it has been, again for unknown reasons, changed in the Akkadian form. The resultant diphthong has the happy effect of creating the considerable metrical flexibility, highly desirable in dactylic hexameter verse, revealed by Αἴγυπτος,⁴² though both the rules of logic and the Mycenaean evidence preclude our thinking that metrical considerations caused this form. Thus, phonologically as well as semantically, the development is unexceptionable. But here, too, Jasanoff and Nussbaum’s requirements are at fault, for there is anything but a striking similarity of form between /hatkap’ta/ and /aiguptos/.

When it comes to Jasanoff and Nussbaum’s third requirement, that of lexical isolation, we observe that beside Αἴγυπτος as river-name there exists the simpler Greek word αἶξ, αἰγός, “goat”, closely related in form and meaning. Rivers are often associated with goats in classical Greek toponyms, cult, and myth. None of our evidence for this association dates to Mycenaean times, by which Αἴγυπτος

had already assumed its classical form, but the nature of the Linear B texts virtually precludes their providing such information, and it is reasonable to assume that this connection is much earlier than its first attestation. We have place-names such as the River Tragus in Arcadia or the roadstead of Aegospotami in the Thracian Chersonese, where the Athenians were finally defeated by Lysander.⁴³ Many other places near, in, or belonging to the sea have names formed from the αἰγ- root—Aegae on Euboea, where the Greeks returning from Troy suffered a great storm, Mt. Aegaleus in Attica, whence Xerxes watched the battle of Salamis, Aegina, the Aegean itself—and there is an obvious marine connection to the common nouns αἰγιαλός, “beach” and αἶγες, “waves”.⁴⁴ It is unclear whether the latter is the survival of a pre-Greek word for “sea,” a metaphor of goats for waves, as whitecaps are the horses of Manannan Mac Lir in Irish myth or in the Canadian place-name Whitehorse, or a derivative, cognate with αἶξ, from αἶσσειν, “to move with a quick shooting motion”.⁴⁵ These marine words are relevant to rivers, since Greek makes no over-nice distinction between fresh-water and salt-, as both fall under the purview of Poseidon.⁴⁶

In cult, horned animals are offered to rivers.⁴⁷ Bulls are preferred at Troy and in Sicily, but bulls and goats are homologous in cult and Greece is a land of goats.⁴⁸ Pubescent goats are an appropriate offering to springs; moreover the Athenians competed in their tragedies or “goat-songs” for the privilege of sacrificing a goat to Dionysus the taurine god whom Plutarch describes after a Pindar-passage as lord of the whole liquid element.⁴⁹

In myth, too, horns are linked to rivers. A river’s branches are its “horns”,⁵⁰ and as for the Nile Greeks were most familiar with its branches, the “mouths of the front part”. Amalthea, the goat gave her cornucopia to Heracles in exchange for the horn that he broke off the river Achelous, who, like other rivers, is bull-formed.⁵¹ Capricorn, believed to be among the forty-eight constellations that Greeks took over from Egypt has the form of a goat-fish hybrid.⁵² Interesting in this context is the αἶξ, a water-bird whose flight—it has been suggested on the basis of German folklore surrounding the similarly named *Himmelsgeiß*, “snipe” (literally, “heaven-goat”)—was thought to presage storms.⁵³

In this light, I suggest that Greeks connected the Nile with goats, the more so since Ptah himself is horned, his incarnation being the Apis-bull and his function that of creation, like the ram-headed god, Chnum.⁵⁴ Late grammarians certainly explained the name Egypt along these lines, either since Egypt has fat goats, or because Egyptians worship them and so allow the Nile to be drunk by goats.⁵⁵ The Egyptian goat-cult, centred at *b3-nb-Ḍdt*, “ram (or soul) of Lord *Ḍdt*,” or Mendes in the delta since the second dynasty, was striking to Greeks, not least because it involved public sexual intercourse between women and goats.⁵⁶

We will never know whether the identity of the first syllable of Αἴγυπτος with the αἰγ- root is coincidence or—as I think more likely—a case of folk-etymology,⁵⁷ and modern philologists are not tempted by any derivation akin to those offered by the late grammarians, both because the ending -υπτος, though it has wholly reshaped the original, has not produced a Greek word-forming suffix,

and since by chance we can trace the word almost step by step as it enters Greek. Even so, the word is not wholly isolated from other, simpler Greek words, and if their influence as opposed to coincidence indeed helped determine its form, this tempered the desire to replace the sounds of the source language by their closest equivalents in the target tongue.

The moral of this story is that Greek accommodated loan-words to its own native forms in ways rich in folk-poetry.⁵⁸ We must never forget, as Dover (1994: 25) has said in the words quoted in the introduction, that aesthetic caprice must be included among the determinants of linguistic form,⁵⁹ nor should we be too quick to rule out as borrowings words that in sense, sound, and degree of isolation do not conform to the narrow expectations of a rigidly positivist approach to historical linguistics.

1.5 What Egyptians Thought of the Afterlife

We are now almost ready to start our inquiry. It remains only to state in summary what Egyptians thought of the afterlife. A word about the evidence: our earliest pertinent record is the *Pyramid Texts*, first carved in the fifth-dynasty pyramid of Unas, a millennium and a half before Peisistratus ordered a reference-text for performances of epic at the Panathenaea, a millennium before Troy fell, giving the bards their central theme,⁶⁰ and perhaps even before Greeks entered the Aegean.⁶¹ Moreover, these spells may have been composed long before being written down. There is thus no chance that their actual texts directly influenced Greek belief. However, Egyptian culture is steeped in the past, and the spells never fell out of use, but were embellished first as the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*, then, in the eighteenth dynasty when Egypt was preeminent in the Mediterranean, as the *Book of the Dead*. It is the latter, we shall see below, that could have influenced the embryonic vocabulary of Greek epic. In presenting the evidence, I will give each motif's ultimate source in the *Pyramid Texts* as well as the immediate source in the *Book of the Dead* for the good reason that one grasps Egyptian beliefs better the closer to their beginning one looks at them, before successive generations had laden them with often extraneous baggage. So too Egyptologists publish hieratic texts transliterated into the earlier hieroglyphic script.

Many *Pyramid Text* utterances say that at death pharaoh's ba, or soul flew heavenward to become immortal as a star, often specifically in the constellation Orion, heavenly home of the god Osiris, Lord of Amenta, the other world.⁶² Since the eighteenth dynasty the hieroglyph for ba shows a human-headed bird sitting by a smoking incense-bowl, probably as a concrete image of this idea.⁶³ It is an old one, for already the first-dynasty mastaba-tombs helped the dead ascend to the sky,⁶⁴ and the fourth-dynasty pyramid of Khufu (Cheops), which like many pyramids is aligned with the stars,⁶⁵ contains a shaft pointed at the time of building from the burial-chamber to the pole-star, Thuban and another to the constellation Orion to guide the king on his voyage, though precession of the equinoxes has since changed these alignments (FIGURE 2).⁶⁶ Mycenaeans would have understood the ba, for they too often saw the soul as a bird (FIGURE 3).

As a bird, the ba ought to make the heavenward journey alone; sometimes, however, it needs help. For Nile-dwelling Egyptians, the natural vehicle for joining the gods among the stars was a boat, and we hear of one, whose name, “it flies, it alights” paints it as a sort of bird,⁶⁷ which brings the dead to their new home in the other world. Starting in the sixth dynasty, the mummy often shared his tomb with scale-model boats to aid him on the trip: the eighteenth-dynasty Tut‘ankhamūn, for one, had a fleet of thirty-five.⁶⁸ Such models were cost-cutting relics of more lavish days, for Khufu and his heir, Chephren, were equipped with five life-sized boats each, perhaps one to carry their bas to the four cardinal points and the fifth the very hearse that bore them to the tomb, for which, after that great service, no lesser use would ever again be worthy. One of these, found disassembled but perfectly preserved south of Khufu’s pyramid, and restored by A. Y. Moustafa, is housed in its own museum above the pit where it was buried.⁶⁹ Powered by five pairs of oars over eight metres long with two more steering-oars across the stern, it has no mast or sail.⁷⁰ Its prow and stern rise high above the keel-line, more like those of seafaring Viking drakkars than the river-craft one expects on the Nile. Though made of cedar of Lebanon, it mimics reed-floats with papyriform finials carved on both ends (FIGURE 4). The reed-float is remarkably durable.⁷¹ Thor Heyerdahl (1971) sailed two across the Atlantic, though scholars doubt Egyptians themselves made the trip.⁷² The bier that bore the scribe Ani to his tomb had just such a papyrus-shaped prow and stern (FIGURE 5).

The place whither pharaoh sails is a realm of earthly delights, an ideal form of the Nile’s banks, which by the eighteenth dynasty Egyptians were calling the Field of Offerings⁷³ or, as we have said, the Field of Reeds. The *Book of the Dead* makes clear that at this time too the dead came there by boat.⁷⁴

Prior to arriving, Egyptians believed, the soul of the deceased stood in judgement before various other world-gods, chief of whom is Osiris, who had suffered death, been resurrected, and now ruled the kingdom of the dead.⁷⁵ To be judged by him, the deceased must be endowed with voice—for there can be no justice without speech—hence his or her heir performed the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth.⁷⁶ Once the mouth had been opened, he or she could utter the formulaic Declaration of Innocence, which scholars sometimes call the Negative Confession, a catalogue of forty-two misdeeds that one denied having committed in life along the lines of, “I have done no wrong, I have not despoiled, I have not robbed”, and so on.⁷⁷ Since everyone recites the same Negative Confession, the judge’s task is to tell whether or not they have done so truly, in other words whether there is any correspondence between their tongue and heart.⁷⁸ In that alone does goodness and beauty consist, and the ideogram for *nfr*, “good, beautiful” is a heart with windpipe attached, showing the heart and mouth connected.⁷⁹ To determine the truth of the deceased’s words, the heart is weighed against the ostrich-feather of Maat, or Truth.⁸⁰ If free of falsehood, it will not be weighed down and will balance the feather, which is ideographically the abstract notion of “righteousness”. If, however, he or she uttered any part of the Negative Confession falsely, the heart, so burdened, will not balance the feather. Lest the female triformed monster,

Devourer of the Dead, part crocodile, part lion, and part hippopotamus, who haunts the scales of justice in Amenta, devour one whose heart is oppressed by lies, Osiris must redeem it by removing the sin, so it will balance the feather and make the deceased “true of voice”. This was not just a mythic tale, but was enacted on earth at least by Ptolemaic times with priests playing the roles of the gods.⁸¹

Not only must Osiris redeem the departed’s soul; he must also feed it in the afterlife. These two functions are linked, for the words whereby the dead is judged come from the mouth that eats the food. To encourage Osiris to feed the dead, the mourner gives prayers and offerings. We see this in a typical funerary text:

A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give *invocation-offerings* [*pri-ḥrw*, literally “going forth of the voice”] consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing, all things good and pure on which a god lives, to the spirit of the revered N, *justified* [*m3 ‘ḥrw*, literally “true of voice”].⁸²

This “going forth of the voice” is a list of offerings to the “true of voice” dead, which serves as a stand-in for real ones. This close tie between the voice of the dead, that of the mourner, and offerings especially of food will have implications for Homer, as we shall see below.

1.6 Similarities between the Greek and Egyptian Afterlife

Some surface likeness between this Egyptian afterlife and the Greek strikes one at once, and invites us to look for ties between them, as we shall do in the rest of this book.

1.6.1 Climate

The Greek other world is forbidding. For one thing, there are all those rivers: Acheron, Cocytus, Lethe, Phlegethon and Styx; there is water too in the swamp across which Charon ferries the dead.⁸³ For another, there is the flora: the galingale and the reed of Aristophanes *Frogs*.⁸⁴ So prominent is this feature in the other world scenes of one Lekythos-painter that scholars have dubbed him the Reed Painter (FIGURE 6).⁸⁵ Then there is the fauna, which consists mainly of frogs.⁸⁶ All this muck makes sense for a place of eternal torment as in Orphic eschatology (we will see the white cypress spring of the gold leaves in a later chapter); the muddy folk of Dante’s *Inferno* would agree.⁸⁷ But the boggy part is not always the bad part, for paradise too is seen in a similar vein: recall the flowers that water feeds, water-lilies perhaps, in Pindar’s isles of the blessed.⁸⁸ Again, the word *λειμών* describing the meadow of asphodel where Achilles strides in the other world comes from the same root, suggestive of water as *λίμνη*, “harbour” and *λίμνη*, “lake”.⁸⁹ The idea that paradise is a swamp might be natural to Egyptians, for their only other choice was desert, and indeed we know that their Dear Departed dwell in the Field of Reeds (see section 1.1 above), but the notion would not be so obvious to Greeks unless it were a cultural borrowing.

1.6.2 Cerberus/ Anubis and Devourer of the Dead

The hound of Hell, Cerberus, known already to Homer, is named first in Hesiod; he is thereafter a fixture of the Greek other world, particularly as object of Heracles' last labour.⁹⁰ He eats those who would flee, and has many heads, now all canine, now those of a snake-dragon-dog hybrid.⁹¹

The Egyptian god Anubis is shown in judgement-scenes guarding the balance, watching the pointer with rapt attention (FIGURE 7). His head is that of either a jackal or dog—the point is disputed.⁹²

The Greek and Egyptian names are clearly unrelated, and ancients explained the Greek as derived by syncope, metathesis and vowel-assimilation from κρεοβόρος, “fed on flesh”,⁹³ which makes it a synonym for “sarcophagus”, coming as that word does from σάρξ, “flesh” and φαγεῖν, “to eat”. The name so read implies the same diet as the Egyptian Devourer of the Dead, who, like Cerberus in some manifestations, was a chimerical hybrid.

1.6.3 Rhadamanthys/ Lord of the West

The brief reference to Rhadamanthys in the *Odyssey* shows that he is already in Homer's time closely tied to Elysium.⁹⁴ The element -νθ- shows that his name is pre-Greek, whether of Peloponnesian provenance (compare hyacinth and Corinth) or Cretan (compare labyrinth). In Egyptian eschatology, the dead are judged by the other world-god Osiris, who is referred to as “Lord of the West” (*nb-ḫmwt*). The term “West” (*ḫmwt*) refers to the traditional site of cemeteries on the Nile's west bank, where the sun sets, and comes by natural association to denote the deads' abode in the other world, as Sophocles speaks of departing souls flying toward the headland of the western god.⁹⁵ Plutarch transliterates it as Ἀμένθης.⁹⁶ It strikingly confirms that Rhadamanthys has his ultimate origin in the “Lord of the West” of Egypt, where theriomorphic gods were common—and which Homer's “grey (or owl)-eyed” Athena, “ox-eyed” Hera, and “blue-maned” Poseidon may echo—that Sosicrates ascribed oaths sworn by animals, rather than by the humanoid gods of Greece, to Rhadamanthys.⁹⁷ Indeed, in Plato's *Gorgias* Socrates swears “by dog, the Egyptian god!”

1.6.4 Psychostasia/ Judging of Words

Homer describes the agonistic weighing of men's fates in the scales of Zeus; in the parody in Aristophanes *Frogs* words rather than fates are weighed.⁹⁸ A spell in the *Book of the Dead* describes the weighing of the heart on the scales of Maat.⁹⁹ Though it is the heart that is placed in the balance, the process is called “the judging of words”. We shall consider the psychostasia more fully later on.

1.6.5 Elysium/ Field of Reeds

Finally, Menelaus' future in Elysium is foretold by Proteus when they meet in Egypt.¹⁰⁰ As we noted in section 1.1 above, the derivation of “Elysium” from the Egyptian *shṯ ḏ3r.w*, first advanced by Lauth, has been reiterated as recently as 1991

by Alford. Whatever the words' relationship, the ideas are clearly linked. Burkert (1961: 209) notes a possible further connection between Elysium and the name of Eleusis, home of the cult that promised initiates a blessed posthumous existence.¹⁰¹ Certainly the Eleusinian legend of Demeter's failed attempt to burn off Demophon's mortal part strangely resembles the Egyptian story of Isis trying to burn off the mortal part of Malcander's son, and a magic formula for warding off scorpion-bites ("Poison of Tefenet, come, go out to the earth, do not go about and do not penetrate"), which alludes to this myth and is widely diffused in Egypt, makes it quite unlikely that one should assume an origin in Greek literature; if there is any influence, it must have come from Egypt to Greece.¹⁰²

2. ROWING TO ELYSIUM: MENELAUS' AFTERLIFE AND EGYPTIAN RELIGION

I've met more than one old *voyageur* who claims to have seen birchbark canoes flying through the air full of the demon-possessed on their way to visit their sweethearts under the aegis of Beelzebub.¹

—H. Beaugrand, “La Chasse-galerie”

I sailed away on that little boat to Heaven.

—F. Loesser, *Guys and Dolls*

2.1 *Elysium Revisited*

Let us now return to where we began, namely Alford's (1991) discussion of the passage in the *Odyssey* in which Proteus tells Menelaus that he will not die, ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἑλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης/ ἄθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, “but the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth”.²

Though I agree with Alford that both the name and idea of the Elysian plain come from Egyptian *shṯ l3r.w*, “field of reeds” in which the blessed dead dwell according to the *Book of the Dead*,³ his argument convinces less than it might for two reasons. He fails adequately to refute the etymologies for “Elysium”—powerfully argued but incompatible with his own—proposed by Burkert and Puhvel, and he fails to explain why on his view Homer's phrase is such a motley borrowing, being part loan-word and part calque. This section aims, by answering these objections, to strengthen Alford's case for an Egyptian origin for the Elysian plain. It is in four parts: a refutation of Burkert's thesis, a refutation of that of Puhvel, a synopsis of Alford's contribution, with which I agree, and an explanation for the formally hybrid nature of the phrase “Elysian plain”.

In an important and widely accepted⁴ article, Burkert (1961) compares the word Ἠλύσιον with ἐνηλύσιος, “struck by lightning”, used substantivally in the neuter to describe a place set apart from worldly uses since a thunderbolt has fallen there. He argues that the latter word has an obvious source within Greek in the future stem of *ἐνέρχασθαι, “to come in, arrive”. He then suggests that Ἠλύσιον arose from ἐνηλύσιος by false word-division, as English “roach” came from “cockroach”, itself from Spanish *cucaracha*, a process named for Manu Leumann, who catalogued four Homeric instances (1950: 109-10, 122-37).⁵ Burkert suggests two possible lines whose misreading could have invited such a Leumannian misunderstanding of ἐνηλύσιος, namely: *τῷ δ’ ἄρ’ ΕΝΗΛΥΣΙΩΙ βιοτὴ πέλει ἄφθιτος αἰεὶ, “when he had been struck by lightning OR in Elysium he has a life forever deathless”, and *ζῶει ΕΝΗΛΥΣΙΩΙ πεδίῳ τιμῇσι φέριστος, “He lives most abounding in honours in a plain struck by lightning OR in the Elysian plain”.

In favour of Burkert’s idea one can readily see how Greeks could have linked ground struck by lightning to Elysium, for Zeus mates in the sacred marriage by coming to earth in thunder and lightning as καταιβάτης, “he who descends”, most notably when he begot Dionysus.⁶ Indeed, G. A. Wainwright (1932: 6) has suggested that the ancients used to search the ground after a thunderstorm for fallen thunderbolts, which they thought they had found whenever they came across a belemnite or thunder-stone, the fossilized internal bone of a cuttle-fish, which may account for the oddly shaped thunderbolts with which Greek art arms Zeus (FIGURE 8; cf. FIGURE 22; this could also explain why Greek calls truffles κεράυνια, “little thunderbolts”).⁷ Elysium, meanwhile, is home after this earthly life to at least some of Zeus’s relatives.

Three serious problems, none by itself insurmountable, but which together prove fatal, beset Burkert’s thesis. The place into which a thunderbolt has come would be better expressed by the preverb ἐ(ῖ)ς-, “into” than ἐν-, “in”,⁸ and the place into which a thunderbolt has come is not naturally expressed by a future stem; the word Burkert cites as a formal parallel, εἰσηλύσιον, “entrance fee”⁹ underscores both points admirably, for it is the sum paid by someone about to go into a place. Third, Ἠλύσιον is first attested earlier than ἐνηλύσιος.¹⁰ While this could be an accident of transmission, for much early poetry is lost, we should, without compelling evidence to the contrary, assume Ἠλύσιον the older word.

It is possible that Ἠλύσιον and ἐνηλύσιος are related, but in the exact opposite way from false word-division, for while there are but a handful of those in Homer—none absolutely certain—, compound words are a dime a dozen at all periods in Greek. In fact, much religious vocabulary is of just this sort. Whoever is ἐναγής, “cursed” has some pollution (ἄγος) within; whoever is ἐνθεός, “inspired” has a god (θεός) within. In such a way, what Zeus strikes by lightning he marks out as an honorary suburb of Elysium.

Eight years after Burkert’s article, Puhvel (1969) advanced a very different theory. Heinrich Otten (1958: 131, 139-40) had published the text of a Hittite death-ritual in which the sun-god is invoked to prepare for the deceased a meadow in the

other world in which will graze cattle, sheep, horses and mules.¹¹ The word for “meadow” in this prayer, Ú.SAL, is an allograph derived from Akkadian *usallu*. This type of orthography expresses the signified, but not the signifier of the Hittite word it represents.¹² Puhvel argues that the Hittite word denoted by Ú.SAL was *wellu*, which he derives from a hypothetical Proto-Indo-European **welsu*, “meadow”. This could have yielded Greek **Ἑλσ*, and in turn **Ἑήλ*υ with the /e/ lengthened to compensate for the lost /s/. To this could then have been added the adjectival ending -σιος.¹³ If so, its meaning was lost early, and Greek had to coin the pleonastic Ἠλύσιον πεδίον, “Elysian plain”. Puhvel proposes that Homer’s couplet might originally have read **ἀλλὰ σε Ἑηλύσιον πεδίον*. . . / *ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν*, “but the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain”, and indeed the accusative of motion toward without preposition is amply paralleled in Homer, as is the double accusative.¹⁴

Alford (1991: 152) asks if Ἠλύσιον is a Greek word as Puhvel claims, why we cannot discern any source for it in Greek culture and why the Greeks themselves were at a loss to explain it. A greater objection to the theory, however, is that it involves a logical contradiction, for on this view, “Elysian plain” is a pleonasm, meaning “meadowy plain”. Such a thing would exist only if one word were felt as foreign and the other added as a gloss. Ἠλύσιον is a hapax in Homer; so, if either is a gloss, it must be the word for “plain”. But if Greeks felt **Ἑήλ*υ foreign, how could they have given it a Greek adjectival ending?

Alford accepts Puhvel’s analysis of Ἠλύσιον as Ἠλύ-σιον, but, as we have said, accepts also the long-posited Egyptian etymology for the first element. The value of his article is to show that Egyptian *ỉ3r.w* could have been transliterated into Greek only as **ήλ*υ. It does this by accessing the evidence of Coptic, which, unlike hieroglyphic Egyptian, records vowels, albeit at a later stage in the language’s history. *ỉ3r.w* does not survive into Coptic, but the similar sounding *ỉ33rt*, “grapes” lives on as *ελοολε* and *ỉ3kt*, “leeks” as *ηγε*. Alford well argues that the first shows that Egyptian /r/ became Coptic λ, and the second that an initial *ỉ* in a two-syllable word yielded Coptic η. Adding these two facts together, Alford concludes that Egyptian *ỉ3r.w* would have been in Coptic **ηλοο* and in Greek **ήλ*υ.

There remains, though, a problem with Alford’s theory. For if Ἠλύσιον πεδίον indeed comes from *shỉt* *ỉ3r.w*, as his argument strongly suggests, why did Greek bards translate one word of the phrase¹⁵ and borrow the other by transliterating it and adding a Greek adjectival ending to approximate the direct genitive relation shown by the word-order of the Egyptian original?¹⁶ Certainly a sentence such as **ἀλλὰ σέ γ’ ἐς δονάκων πεδίον*. . . / *ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν*, “but the immortals will send you at least to the plain of reeds” would be grammatically correct, and made entirely of Homeric words. On the other hand, **ἀλλὰ σέ γ’ ἐς Sekhan* Ἠλυσίαν. . . / *ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν*, “but the immortals will send you at least to *Sekha Elysia*” suggests that a transliteration of

sh̥t that replaced the Egyptian feminine ending with a Greek feminine accusative would fit the dactylic hexametre admirably.

The answer is suggested by Cyrus H. Gordon's (1978 and 1992) theory that the Semitic word-root *tršš* was widely diffused in the Aegean.¹⁷ This once meant, "vinous", but, owing to the widespread habit of applying to seas colour-terms such as Red, or Black, came to refer to the Mediterranean in the sense of "wine-dark." According to Gordon, Greek borrowed *tršš* twice, once as a loan-word, θάλασσα, "sea," and once as a calque, ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον/ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, "on the wine-dark sea".¹⁸ Similarly, I will argue later that the Egyptian phrase *m3 'hrw*, which, as we saw in section 1.5 above, describes the souls of the dead who have passed the judgement of words in the other world, both entered Greek as the loan-word μάκαρ, and was calqued in the form ἔπεα πτερόεντα, "winged or feathered words"—for the ostrich feather was the symbol of the Egyptian goddess Maat.

The cases of *tršš* and *m3 'hrw* point to a pattern: if Greek likewise borrowed *sh̥t i3r.w* twice—as a loan, **sekha(n)* Ἠλυσία(ν) and as a calque, *δονάκων πεδίων—one can easily imagine a further stage wherein the two forms blended to yield the attested "Elysian plain". Pressure to choose loan-word, calque, or as a compromise the contamination is like the drive toward simplicity in Homer's formulaic system. The pairs θάλασσα/ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον and μάκαρ/ἔπεα πτερόεντα survived this pressure, perhaps since one in each pair preserves the riddling character of a kenning that seemingly appealed to the bards, and which we find in other formulae, such as ἔρκος ὀδόντων, "the tooth-fence".

Once the weaknesses of Burkert's and Puhvel's theses have been clearly exposed and the objection to the bastard quality of the phrase on Alford's theory has been met, the likelihood that Egyptian *sh̥t i3r.w* in fact inspired Homer's Ἠλύσιον πεδίων is shown to be very high indeed.

2.2 διιπετέος ποταμοῖο / the Celestial Inundation

While not saying how the gods will send Menelaus to Elysium, Proteus clearly implies that he will arrive alive and in the flesh. We note, too, that Homer calls the Nile as well as several other rivers διιπετέος ποταμοῖο.¹⁹ The word διιπετής, which occurs only in the verse-end formula just quoted, is usually rendered "fallen from Zeus, that is, from heaven, fed or swollen by rain",²⁰ for high-thundering, cloud-gatherer Zeus is the sky who rains and snows,²¹ and rivers can be χείμαρροι, "swollen by rain and melted snow". Yet it only takes a moment for the desperate nature of this interpretation to become clear: it has at least four flaws.²²

First, there is διι-. We may explain the quantity of the second iota, which is long in our word, but short in Διί, the dative of Ζεύς, either as a metrical lengthening, or as a survival of Mycenaean *di-we*, with or without the emendation to διειπετής proposed by one Zenodorus and supported by some moderns,²³ but the form itself is unexpected. Even supporters of the usual view admit that διι- is a very odd way of saying "from Zeus," which should be expressed by a genitive of

source:²⁴ indeed, when Euripides wants to say that a statue fell from the sky, he calls it *διοπετής*.²⁵ They account for *διι-* in one of three ways: either as chosen on the analogy of *δίφιλος*, “dear to Zeus” where the dative *is* appropriate,²⁶ as a compendious expression meaning “by [the command of] Zeus”,²⁷ or as an Arcado-Cypriot use of the dative as an ablative.²⁸ This last approach relies in turn on the hypothesis, itself controversial, of an Achaean stratum of the Homeric language, in which are alleged to persist forms specific to the Mycenaean dialect.²⁹

Second, the final element, *-πετής*, is elsewhere in Homer derived from *πέτεσθαι*, “to fly”.³⁰ Unlike *διιπετής*, these words are accented paroxytone,³¹ but this shows only that during the Alexandrian period, when the written accents were devised, scholars associated them with a different root from *διιπετής*. Leaving our word aside, for examples of *-πετής* derived from *πίπτειν*, “to fall” we must look to Aeschylus, Pindar, and later authors.³²

Third, the earliest post-Homeric uses of *διιπετής* demand some translation such as “translucent”, and Zenodotus glosses the word in its Homeric use as *διαυγής*, “shining”, yet the semantic development from “fallen from Zeus” on the usual interpretation to “translucent” can only be seen as still unexplained.³³

Fourth, one of the three named rivers to which Homer applies *διιπετής* is the Nile, yet if ever there were a river not fed or swollen by rain, it is the Nile: rainfall is scarce in Egypt, and, knowing this, Diogenes hypothesized that the Nile was fed by subterranean springs.³⁴ That Homer applies the epithet to the Nile would have, therefore, to be classed among his admittedly numerous formulaic illogicalities.³⁵

Not all scholars accept the usual view. In 1958 Max Treu pointed to a then newly discovered papyrus fragment of Alcman containing the adjective *διαιπετής* in the phrase *[ῶ]τις ἀγλά[ε]ντος ἀστήρ/ὠρανῶ διαιπετής*, which was taken to describe a star falling though, or less probably flying through heaven,³⁶ to hypothesize that the Homeric instances of *διιπετής* are all mis-corrections of an original *διαιπετής*, “flying through”. This theory has convinced few,³⁷ and Robert Renehan (1972b) has with more probability argued exactly the opposite case, that Alcman’s *διαιπετής* is a dialectical variant of Homer’s *διειπετής* (*sic*); but there is another alternative to the usual view, which Treu rejects in arguing his own position. In its first non-formular occurrence *διιπετής* describes birds of prey as “flying in the sky”,³⁸ implicitly deriving *-πετ-* from *πέτεσθαι*, and taking *διι-* as a locative dative, and the Sanskritist Heinrich Lüders ([1951] 1959: 1.11) translates the word in the phrase *διιπετέος ποταμοῖο* in the same way as “flying or floating in the sky”.³⁹ A flying river should cause no surprise. As Treu remarks (1958: 269), Greek uses “flying” more widely in metonymic senses than we do:⁴⁰ for example, Greek thunderbolts “fly”.⁴¹ Some have mooted a derivation of *ποταμός*, “river” from *πέτεσθαι*,⁴² though the general consensus is that it comes from *πίπτειν*,⁴³ and in the *Rigveda* we read that “the rivers run by Varuna’s commandment. . . swift have they flown like birds in air around us”, where Varuna is a sky-god, once thought to be cognate with Greek Uranus or Heaven.⁴⁴ A Plautine sycophant tells a false tale of a journey to the

headwaters of a river that rises in heaven beneath the throne of Jove.⁴⁵ Though rejected by Treu, Lüders' view has been accepted by Rüdiger Schmitt and Vittore Pisani,⁴⁶ and I would follow them in arguing that Homer's phrase describes a "river flying in the sky", that is, a "celestial river".⁴⁷

But what could this possibly mean? Lüders believed Homer's formula and the Vedic passage vestiges of a Proto-Indo-European poetic formula like the celebrated pair κλέ(φ)ος ἄφθιτον and *śrávas áksitam*, both of which mean "imperishable fame".⁴⁸ Yet despite the probably cognate origin of *pat* and πέτεσθαι, both meaning "to fly", the specific formulations *sindhavī . . . paptū . . . parijman*, "the rivers have flown in air around us" and διπετέος ποταμοῖο are not very close; in particular, *parijman*, here rendered as "in air around us", means "going around",⁴⁹ hence "ubiquitous", and derives its connection with air from the present context. Furthermore, K. Hoffmann observes that Vedic birds, to which the rivers are compared elsewhere in the *Rigveda*, do not fly in heaven (*divī*), which would answer to Homer's διι-, but in the air.⁵⁰ The Vedic image of flying rivers was in any case more likely inspired by the mighty Indus than any stream in the original Indo-European homeland, wherever exactly that may have been.⁵¹

Since Homer applies the formula to the Nile, we might look to Egypt rather than India for an explanation. For ancient Egyptians, the Nile had no name: it was simply the "river" (*itrw*) or in the appropriate season the yearly "inundation" (*h'py*).⁵² This same Hapy operated also in heaven, sending rain and dew to those hapless folk who lacked their own Nile.⁵³ The hymn to the sun-disk from the tomb of Huy at Amarna, composed during Akhenaten's reign, contains these verses:

All distant foreign countries, thou makest their life (also),
For thou hast set a Nile in heaven (*h'py m p.t*),
That it may descend for them and make waves upon the mountains,
Like the great green sea,
To water their fields in their towns.
How effective they are, thy plans, O lord of eternity!
The Nile in heaven (*h'py m p.t*), it is for the foreign peoples
And for the beasts of every desert that go upon (their) feet;
(While the true) Nile (*h'py*) comes from the underworld for Egypt.⁵⁴

The celestial Nile by day was the course along which the sun god, Ra, traveled in his barque,⁵⁵ and by night was visible as the Milky Way, as we shall see at the end of this section. The Homer Scholiasts already knew that Egyptians thought the Nile flowed from heaven.⁵⁶ The Nile is, therefore, truly, a "celestial river".

At first, this idea seems wholly alien to Greek cosmology, in which heaven is a solid vault of bronze or iron across which the Sun rides in a horse-drawn chariot, while his barque, usually called a cup or bed, does not cross the sky but carries him round the River Ocean from his place of setting to his rising place.⁵⁷ Yet the Greeks were interested in how earth looked from the sky, and a Pindar-passage describing Delos as "blue Earth's far-seen star" led Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913: 131) to observe that from the point of view of the gods the earth is a blue

disk, as their heaven is for us, upon which Delos, little as it is, shines lovely as a pure star.⁵⁸ In keeping with the thought that earth and sky mirror one another, Greeks, like Egyptians, saw rivers in the sky. Hesiod likened the constellation Draco to a flowing river, and that simply called the River was identified either with the legendary Eridanus or with the Nile.⁵⁹ Hesychius seems to suggest that even the foremost river, Ocean, sometimes followed a celestial course.⁶⁰ When conceived anthropomorphically—and it is of Spercheius as river god that διιπετέος ποταμοῖο is used once in the *Iliad*⁶¹—rivers live in houses and gather in assembly at Zeus' home on Olympus and Ocean and his daughters are driven to Prometheus' aid by swift breezes.⁶² Celestial and earthly rivers may be connected despite the lack of any visible links, as the Arethusan Spring in Syracuse and the River Alpheus at Olympia were thought to be one and the same.⁶³

As we saw in section 1.3 above, Mycenaean were in contact with Egypt, particularly during the Amarna period, when the epic vocabulary was being formed. While the possibility of coincidence between two independent phrases can never be ruled out, the evidence seen here makes me suggest that on the model of the Egyptian *h'py m p.t*, Greek poets coined the phrase διιπετέος ποταμοῖο to modify the river Egypt, as it does twice in our *Odyssey*, and that it referred specifically to that river.⁶⁴ The formula will early have been more widely applied, for, as the River constellation and the above-cited passages from the *Rigveda* and Plautus suggest, other rivers as well as the Nile could be thought of as flying in the sky.⁶⁵ We can now see that Alcman applied the word, in the different spelling of his dialect, appropriately to his heavenly star, and the transition of meaning from “celestial” in the epos to “translucent” in Euripides and Hippocrates now need rely on no hypothetical reevaluation of the Homeric expression,⁶⁶ for brightness and purity are the foremost qualities of all bodies of heavenly origin.

This argument is stronger if the epic bards knew of the annual Nile flood.⁶⁷ So, I believe, they did. Thales, Hecataeus, and Herodotus know of it, which perhaps explains why the latter thinks Egypt the gift of the river.⁶⁸ Strabo says that Homer knows it too,⁶⁹ and some scholars try to show from the epics that he is right. Rhys Carpenter (1946: 176 n. †) and Geoffrey S. Kirk, John E. Raven and Malcolm Schofield (1983: 12) suggest that bards identified Ocean with the Nile and used the epithet ἀψόρροος, “back-flowing” not to describe the river as encircling the earth and flowing back into itself,⁷⁰ but rather in its annual flooding of the Delta and subsequent return within its banks. Yet the bards seem to have thought Ocean the Nile's source, and not the Nile itself.⁷¹ Danielle Bonneau (1964: 196-99), encouraged by Pierre Gilbert (1939), who supports Diodorus of Sicily's claim that Homer knew Egypt first-hand, argues that the formula διιπετέος ποταμοῖο, which he renders as “come from the rains” or “come from Zeus”,⁷² implies that the bards knew why the flood occurred. Yet, as we said above, such a translation is suspect.

A better case can be made. Ernstedt (1954), discussing the false tale in which Odysseus says that he came to ἐϋρρείτης Egypt and then placed his well-balanced ships into the river Egypt,⁷³ argues against the usual view whereby both

uses of Egypt in these lines refer to the Nile. Noting such close repetition of the same noun, rather than the use of a pronoun in the second place, and that the name is characterized by apposition as a river in its second rather than its first occurrence,⁷⁴ he suggests that in its first use, Egypt refers to the country, as is certain a dozen lines earlier, and to the river Nile only in the second.⁷⁵ It follows that the adjective ἑὺρρεΐτης cannot mean “fair-flowing”, as in its one other Homeric use, where it modifies the river-name, Satnioeis⁷⁶—for this could hardly describe a country. Ernstedt, though, noting that the verb ῥεῖν, source of the word’s second element means not only “to flow” but also “to be flowed over by”, as in the formula “the earth flowed with blood”, suggests that the line in question derives ἑὺρρεΐτης from ῥεῖν in this other sense, and translates as “abundantly watered”.⁷⁷

Though pure linguistics, Ernstedt’s remarks have historical point, for Egypt was abundantly watered only in being flooded yearly by the Nile. That bards used this word, so construed, of the river Egypt suggests more clearly than ἄψόρροος or διπυρρής that they knew of the flood long before Thales, Hecataeus and Herodotus reported it.

The earthly Nile has an echo in the sky to which the *Pyramid Texts* often allude.⁷⁸ Some scholars transcribe its name as *mr n ḥ3*, “waterway of destruction” and others, using different word-division, as *mr nḥ3*, “winding or crooked waterway”. Virginia L. Davis (1985) adopts the latter reading, but translates as “shifting or pivoting waterway”, and equates it with our galaxy,⁷⁹ which, though to English-speakers a path as in our names “the Milky Way”, and “Watling-street”, struck Egyptians, like the Chinese,⁸⁰ as being a river. For R. Krauss (1997: 53-54) this watercourse instead refers to the invisible, imaginary line of the ecliptic. Whatever its astronomical referent, it was the way on which over two and a half millenia before Lucian claimed that his sailors crossed the sky Egypt’s pharaohs rode “it flies, it alights” to the stars.⁸¹

2.3 Oars for Wings

Nor is the sky-river the *Odyssey*’s only debt to Egypt, for in a context rich in Egyptian echoes, like ghosts who tell the truth if properly fed and a cattle-ranching sun-god, Teiresias tells Odysseus that death will come to him from the sea amid folk who have never known well-fitted oars, which are wings for ships.⁸² This strikes us, for epic, fond of similes, tends to shun metaphor.⁸³ It also lacks precedent in Greek. True, from the LH IIIC period Greeks painted eyes on ships’ prows (FIGURE 9),⁸⁴ and their verse treats ships as living things, rejoicing for example in a breeze of Zeus, or even speaking.⁸⁵ Yet when we can assign species to these sentient boats, we find them to be horses rather than birds.⁸⁶ So we have horses of the salt sea, the flotsam of his raft that Odysseus rides like one spurring on a race-horse, and an epic simile equating the Phaeacians’ ship with a four-horse chariot.⁸⁷ Both ships and horses belong to Poseidon, horse-taming god of the sea, and the wooden horse that loosed Troy’s coronal is ship-like.⁸⁸

If first attested in the *Odyssey*, the bird-ship soon came into vogue, and so

many non-Homeric texts speak of ships' wings that we find the metaphor almost inevitable. That it is at bottom unnatural, though, we see from other poets, who tend to give the bird-ship sails not oars for wings.⁸⁹ The Odyssean view was original, for both comparative linguistics and archaeology show that rowing, itself refined from more primitive paddling, predates sailing.⁹⁰ The metaphor is at odds with much Greek cosmology, for it implies a watery sky, known in the Near East and Egypt and perhaps even in Proto-Indo-European,⁹¹ but not to Greeks, who as we noted in section 2.2 above typically thought the sky a solid bronze or iron vault.⁹² Pharaoh was rowed or towed to the afterlife on a boat aptly named "it flies, it alights", even in the eighteenth dynasty, for we read in the *Book of the Dead* of the "beautiful rudder of heaven" that belongs to the pilots of the other world,⁹³ and ten oars were set beside Tut'ankamūn's coffin.

A literally winged ship was ideal to reach the gods on a sky-river, and ships bore things to and from gods in ritual, both Egyptian and Greek. Painted pots of the predynastic Naqāda II period show ships bearing movable structures, seeming ancestors of the elegant cabins of Khufu's and later craft (FIGURE 10). These sport emblems like the banner flying on a pole, which was in historic times the determinative for *ntr*, "god" and *ntry*, "sacred" (R8 in the sign-list), and so, Elise J. Baumgartel (1955: 1.11-14) suggests, served religious ends, being best called "chapels". In the historic period, Egyptians housed gods' images in portable shrines, which they called among other things *db3.t*, "shrine" and Greeks *ναοί*, "temples",⁹⁴ that they carried on feast-days out of the sanctuary among the people, as Hindus do in the festival of the juggernaut at Puri in Orissa. These floats they often shaped like ships. Most important were the boat-shrines of the Theban triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu borne in procession on New Year's day from Karnak to the Nile, towed to Opet, "the harem of Amun," (modern Luxor) to receive sacrificial geese from offering-tables,⁹⁵ then returned, a festival of unclear meaning, perhaps a sacred marriage of Amun and Mut.⁹⁶ The prestige of this festival was enhanced, when a century before Troy fell Amenhotep III, who was arguably the Memnon of the Greeks,⁹⁷ adorned the temple til "its towers reached heaven, and mingled with the stars" and replaced Amun's boat-shrine with an electrum-plated one of cedar.⁹⁸ The "good and beautiful festival" of Opet enjoyed broad influence, perhaps inspiring the Ark of the Covenant that Israelites paraded in a cart.⁹⁹ The Bible calls this object *3^{ar}ōn*,¹⁰⁰ but in post-Biblical Hebrew *tebāh* denotes the box that holds the Torah-scroll in a synagogue, hence its other meaning, "word". *Tebāh* is a quasi-nautical term denoting Noah's ark and the chest in which baby Moses' mother exposed him.¹⁰¹ That it was the first name for the Ark is suggested by Ge'ez, the Ethiopian liturgical tongue, which calls the Ark *tabot*, a word derived, via Aramaic, from *tebāh*.¹⁰² Given the Jews' sojourn in Egypt, scholars derive *tebāh* in turn from Egyptian *db3.t*,¹⁰³ also sailors' cant, for a god can "sail his shrine",¹⁰⁴ though some once thought that the derivation went the opposite way.¹⁰⁵ An Opet-like festival was also held on Bronze-Age Thera,¹⁰⁶ whose North African ties, says Pindar, go back to the Argonauts.¹⁰⁷

Greeks, too, may have known the Opet-festival: they had met Amun, though

perhaps not before the foundation of Cyrene (modern Al Jabal al Akhdar) with its oracle in 630,¹⁰⁸ they carefully watched the heliacal rising of Sirius,¹⁰⁹ which, as “the going up of Sothis”, marked the Egyptian New Year, and Luxor itself they knew by name, their hundred-gated Thebes apparently merging the Egyptian name with prefixed feminine article *t3* with the form familiar from the seven-gated Boeotian city.¹¹⁰ Amun’s Greek counterpart, Zeus, moreover—whom an Egyptian-style oath of Rhadamanthys, “by goose!” links to geese while punning on the familiar “by Zeus!”—had a sacred marriage with his wife in the *Iliad*.¹¹¹

Whether inspired by the Opet-feast or not, Greeks used boats, sailed, carried like litters, or mounted on wheels, to bring divine images or offerings to and from temples, notably while giving Athena her robe in the Panathenaea, and also during the feasts of Dionysus at Smyrna, and the sacred expedition to the Delian Apollo.¹¹² The latter involves the very ship that once bore Athens’ tribute to the labyrinth and its Minotaur—not immortal, for Theseus would slay him, but the rare Greek figure who recalls Egypt’s animal-headed gods.¹¹³ Though scholars debate when the Panathenaic rite began, and the ship is missing from the east frieze of the New Parthenon of 432, for example, it is of indisputably ancient lineage.¹¹⁴ Moreover, such rituals may underlie the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, which describes the god’s ship-board epiphany (FIGURE 12).¹¹⁵

Describing Daedalus fleeing Crete, Vergil inverts Homer’s metaphor as “the oars of wings”¹¹⁶ and euhemerizing accounts say that he sailed rather than flew, having invented sails, not wings.¹¹⁷ Just this context in Vergil’s polymathic text suggests an eastern source for the metaphor, for Daedalus’ myth was influenced by Phoenician, frequent channel for Egyptian ideas,¹¹⁸ even, Alan Gardiner has suggested (1916, cf. 1961: 25-26), with the best Phoenician gift to Greece—the alphabet.¹¹⁹

Greeks owed to Egypt a crucial naval technology, for the papyrus used in ropes, rigging and tackle, sleek substitute for the clumsy native strips of ox-hide as paper later was for parchment, must have come from there.¹²⁰ I suggest that Greeks also took thence the image of ships flying with oar-wings on lofty rivers to bring souls to the gods. In so doing, they radically secularized it, not least because, save Hermes the psychopomp and Hades, their gods brook no contact with the dead, or even graves, whence by stealing the Palladium and so taking Athena out of Troy they were able to slaughter Trojans.¹²¹ This aversion is elsewhere linked to sailing, for Athenian courts could put no-one to death til the theoric ship came back from Delos.¹²² As with other such loans, we may suspect Semitic middlemen, and the Akkadian hymn to Shamash, the Sun-god from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh says, “You save from the storm the merchant carrying his capital, The ship (?) who goes down to the ocean you equip with wings”.¹²³

This is why, when the *Odyssey* describes the well-known Argo passing through the Planctae, border between the real world of Thessaly and Colchis, Egyptianesque realm of Helios’ son, Aeetes, where Helios’ own bedroom is, on its way to fetch home Phrixus’ soul, it likens her to the doves who bring ambrosia—literally “immortality”—to Zeus, a motif with Near Eastern ties, why, in a metaphor that

Ennius drops from his adaptation, Euripides boldly says that the Argo flew through the clashing rocks; and why astronomers found her in the constellation Argo.¹²⁴

Above all, only if the *Odyssey* knows of “it flies, it alights”, can we explain a small part of the Phaeacian-story. These folk dwell near the gods midway between the fairytale realm of the Apologue and the real Aegean.¹²⁵ Long ago, Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1832 = 1845: 2.1-79) argued that they were ferry-men of the dead. Deriving their name from φαίος, “dusky, dun, or grey”, for mist is prominent in their episode, he and his followers linked them to the Grey Men who ferry the dead by night to the island of Brittia in Teutonic myth.¹²⁶ They noted that Alcinous knows that Odysseus will be asleep when they bring him home—and indeed he falls into a sleep most like death – that we are told for no reason that a former fare was Rhadamanthys, dweller in the Elysian plain, and that the chthonic region of Epirus contained a no longer identifiable town named Baiake.¹²⁷ This theory could also explain why, despite all signs to the contrary, Athena calls the Phaeacians unfriendly and why Odysseus, waking befuddled on Ithaca, curses them.¹²⁸ Repelled by Welcker’s claim that Homer borrowed from Germans, scholars have rejected it,¹²⁹ but Erwin F. Cook (1992: 252) has shown that one need not accept a German origin for the motif to accept the Phaeacian/ ferry-man equation. This is relevant here, for if the Phaeacians are ferry-men of Elysium, we might expect them to have a bird-like boat like their Egyptian counterparts, and indeed Homer likens their ship to a falcon.¹³⁰

2.4 Temple as Ship

Is there anything in the real world that corresponds to a flying ship? I think that for Homer, at least, there is. Like the good eighth-century oecist he was,¹³¹ the founder of Scheria, Phaeacian king Nausithous, son of Poseidon and grandfather of Nausicaa and Clytonaus, adorned his new city with temples of the gods, νηοὺς ἑωῶν.¹³² This phrase, a hapax in Homer, occupies the same metrical seat immediately before the hephthemimeral caesura as the common formula νηὶ θοῇ/ νῆα θοήν, “swift ship”.¹³³ It is plausible, therefore, that the bard who described the work of this ship-loving king used the formula as a formal model. I will now argue that this bard thought that temples were ships in which gods travelled. Though this claim may seem surprising, cultic, architectural, and linguistic aspects of the epics all support it.

Let us begin with cult. From *Iliad* One on, epiphanies are common.¹³⁴ While some gods like Apollo work from afar, most need physical contact, for example, in helping suppliants, and human travel to Olympus like that of Otus and Ephialtes or Bellerophon is out of the question. Gods periodically irrupt into the natural world: Zeus comes down in lightning; drinkers take in Dionysus and grow giddy; one sees Pan in any sudden skittishness of the flock.¹³⁵ The trick, then, is to channel the gods’ strength to make it propitious. Perhaps for this reason, the basic prayer is the cletic hymn that asks the god to come to the worshipper and may describe a magic vehicle for the purpose,¹³⁶ like the self-moving aerial car of Sanskrit verse to which a boat is once compared.¹³⁷ Those who pray often do so by the sea, and ships may be the

site of epiphanies (FIGURE 12).¹³⁸

As we saw in the last section, when the Trojan women dedicate a robe to Athena,¹³⁹ we are not told that they use a ship to carry it, but in the similar offering at the Panathenaea, such was indeed the case. This ship may have been a comparatively late addition to the Athenian festival, but it has a good Bronze Age antecedent in the Thera ship-fresco (FIGURE 11).

Turning now to architecture, we note that early temples were perhaps quite small, since as *adyta* or *abata*, which worshippers did not enter,¹⁴⁰ they have no functional lower size limit. Surviving Greek temples, all of archaic date or later, are imposing stone structures but bear traces of wooden prototypes, pillars having replaced rough-hewn logs and decorative guttae treenails. Excavators have found terracotta model-shrines at Perachora and in the Argive Heraeum,¹⁴¹ some of which may have been portable like those of the Egyptian Amun, Mut, and Chonsu, the juggernaut, or the Tent of Meeting, the earliest Israelite shrine.¹⁴²

Greek temples were astronomically oriented, typically facing sunrise on the foundation day, while snubbing humbler coordinates like roads or nearby buildings.¹⁴³ In this, they resemble Khufu's pyramid in Egypt, the so-called air shafts of which helped the pharaoh's soul sail to its eternal home in Orion, giving like an alidat the angles between the tomb itself, pharaoh's "horizon of eternity",¹⁴⁴ the pole-star, and his final destination.¹⁴⁵ This suggests a link with navigation, for Greeks connected ships and stars, thanks to the navigator's art. With both magnetite and iron,¹⁴⁶ but as yet no compass, they had no other navigational aid except perhaps a geographically ordered list of landfalls or portolano.¹⁴⁷ The *Odyssey*'s sailors traveled mainly at night, which required and allowed them to take their bearings by the stars,¹⁴⁸ and the painting on a Late Helladic amphora, which shows four constellations, among them a young Orion superimposed on the head of a double axe (FIGURE 13), suggests a long tradition of nautical stargazing.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, a small corpus grew up round the practice: Hesiod, perhaps in his sometime guise of merchant-seaman, composed an *Astronomia*, and Thales wrote a nautical star guide.¹⁵⁰

These considerations are complemented by others linguistic in nature. For example, the nominative singular of νηός, "temple", is identical to the genitive singular of νηῦς, "ship". One often finds such superficial similarities in Greek and elsewhere between forms originally quite distinct: νηός, "temple" derives from a proto-Greek word whose verbal reflex is ναίειν, "to dwell", a fact not lost on the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* who speaks of that god as "dwelling in his temple",¹⁵¹ while νηῦς, "of a ship", comes ultimately from Proto-Indo-European **neH₂u-es*, which is attested in Sanskrit, Latin, Irish, and so on.¹⁵² The coincidence is worth remarking, however, in light of the navigational aspect of temple orientation just considered.

This coincidence is underscored by the fact that speed was such a mark of ships that in three quarters of its occurrences in the *Iliad* and almost always in the *Odyssey*, θοός, "swift" modifies some form of νηῦς. Moreover, Greek does not name gods from the widespread Proto-Indo-European stem found in other

languages, such as Latin *deus*, and which produced the name “Zeus”, but calls them instead θεοί,¹⁵³ a word that Homer seems to derive by folk-etymology from θοός.¹⁵⁴ This yields the two symmetrical phrases νηῦς . . . θοή, “swift ship” and νηοῦς . . . θεῶν, “gods’ temples”, which was the starting-point of our discussion in this section.¹⁵⁵

The equation of temple and ship gives special point to the fact that as helmsman of Olympus, Zeus sits high on the benches in what ancients rightly saw as a seafaring metaphor.¹⁵⁶ Ships and parts thereof made common dedications,¹⁵⁷ like the prows (*rostra*) displayed in the Roman forum, usually at temples, and Christian lore says that Jesus, who like the Egyptian ferryman of the dead, Mahaf, was a fisher of souls,¹⁵⁸ taught from the boat of Simon Peter, the Rock on whom he would build his church.¹⁵⁹ The central part of a sanctuary to this day is called the “nave,” from the Latin for ship.¹⁶⁰

This suggestion has historical rather than hermeneutic implications, giving as it does a glimpse at the poets’ working methods. Orthodox Parryists will claim, with good reason, that if θεῶν is an epithet for νηοῦς, it means no more than “the only kind of temples that there were in the heroic age”, namely, the best possible sort.¹⁶¹ Certainly the conditions of oral performance did not encourage an audience to savour puns and cross-references of this degree of subtlety. On the other hand, we may imagine the satisfaction of the connoisseur hearing, perhaps for the first time, this phrase, which both perfectly fits its immediate context and evokes a range of apt associations.

2.5 Backward Glances and the Perils of Eternity

There is yet a third echo of the Reed-Field in the *Odyssey*. The pilot of “it flies, it alights” is Mahaf, meaning, “Who looks behind”.¹⁶² His distinctive pose was still basic in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, as proved by the vignette to the *Book of the Dead* that shows him sitting in his boat, the ladanum-gatherer’s three-swippled flail that links him to Osiris perched on his knee,¹⁶³ before him stands the deceased, clad in his best linen robe, sized with starch and neatly goffered, holding in one hand this very book, while with the other he greets the ferry-man. The latter looks over his shoulder, as his ancient name dictates (FIGURE 14).¹⁶⁴ Charon, who mans the tiller of the ferry bearing dead Greeks to their other world,¹⁶⁵ including Elysium, is also shown once, on a fifth-century Attic white-ground lekythos, looking over his shoulder (FIGURE 15). Homer does not mention Charon,¹⁶⁶ but speaks of Death, whom Byzantines called Charos or Charondas—though whether by syncretism or survival of an original identity is unclear.¹⁶⁷ That Mahaf’s weird stance makes him avert his gaze Perseus-like from his passengers is a by-product, and not its motive cause, for Greek rather than Egyptian gods were wont to shun the dead, and in the vignette just mentioned, Mahaf, as he looks back, trades glances with the late Ani.

Raymond O. Faulkner (1985: 90) suggests that Mahaf once meant “the stern is behind him”, or “helmsman”, for, like Charon, he mans the rudder not the oars of his craft, which is self-propelling, unlike the Phaeacians’, which needs rowers but

no helmsman,¹⁶⁸ and the first syllable of his name, *m3* is perhaps the rudder of a sacred boat,¹⁶⁹ written due to the similar shape by the hieroglyph for sickle (U1 on the sign-list). Because *m3*, “rudder” sounds, assuming the same vocalization, like *m3*, “he sees”, the name was early misconstrued, Faulkner contends, as “he who sees behind him”. Perhaps ritually enacting Mahaf’s pose, the priest who leads Ani’s boat-shaped bier to the tomb also looks over his shoulder.¹⁷⁰

The gondolier’s pose is neither comfortable nor natural.¹⁷¹ True, the captives whom the early dynastic king Na’rmer clubs to death on the verso of his commemorative schist palette (FIGURE 16) are so depicted, but this conveys their agony.¹⁷² Again, a sixteenth century magical papyrus describes “those who are yonder”, meaning the dead, entering a room with faces reversed to kiss, and perhaps abduct a woman’s sleeping baby, but this is an uncanny sign of the revenant, like the demonic “Radiant One who comes out after having turned back” in the other world.¹⁷³ Egyptologists are divided over the reason for Mahaf’s pose. D. Mueller (1972: 104) explains it by the need of one rowing a skiff to keep turning round to see, yet as we have said, Mahaf’s boat seems to be self-propelling. Dino Bidoli (1976: 47-48) notes that *Coffin Texts* call the ferry-man a fisher of the dead,¹⁷⁴ and thinks that he is looking round to check his nets, but this would have to be a later addition, for the name precedes his role as fisher. Leo Depuydt (1992: 37) has suggested on the basis of the variant name, “Who looks before, who looks behind” that the ferry-man has two faces like Janus, and Krauss (1997: 67-85) suggests that Egyptians identified Mahaf with the moon, whose waning crescent points opposite the direction of its celestial motion. Against the last two theories one might argue, as Depuydt concedes, that the *Book of the Dead* portrays Mahaf with a single human face. For his part, the commentator, Kurt Sethe (1948-62: 2.116) explains Mahaf’s pose by his need to stay on course, absurdly, for in steering one looks forward. Looking back shows whence one has come, also vital when navigating, since landmarks may look different from the other direction—but only if one plans to go home again, steering by reference points, as the track of oar-blades is unclear. This explains why he looks back, since humans, subject to the day, cannot reverse time’s arrow and see death as a one-way trip whence they say that no-one returns;¹⁷⁵ while as a god, Mahaf travels both ways.

Another figure whom Egyptians normally show looking back is the avatar of Osiris’ celestial home, Orion.¹⁷⁶ They carved the determinative for his name on the north face of the coping-stone from Ammenemes III’s pyramid at Dashur, armed with a sceptre, marching forward, turning back, and stretching behind him his left hand, which holds the star (FIGURE 17).¹⁷⁷ He is shown in this pose astride a boat on the star-charts—short shrift versions of the star-targetting shafts of Khufu’s pyramid—that adorn the tomb-ceilings of Senmut, major-domo of Hashepsowe, as I shall call her (older scholars said Hatshepsut), and of Seti (Sethos) I (FIGURE 18). The star Sirius, heavenly home of Osiris’ sister and wife, Isis,¹⁷⁸ is called Orion’s guide, but Sirius actually follows him in the circumvolution of the stars and can be his guide only thanks to the glance with which he turns back toward her.¹⁷⁹

We see why the god who brings the ba to its final home in the stars and the one

who receives him there are regularly shown in the same odd pose, if we recall how Egyptians oriented themselves. In time, while moderns look forward, people generally, before the arrival of Stoic or Christian teleology, to say nothing of the industrial revolution with its attendant myth of limitless progress, were in the grip of the past,¹⁸⁰ while for them the future was closed. Greek literature abounds in etiologies, lauds inventors of the bridle, lyre, wine, or the saw,¹⁸¹ and casts habitual actions, for which moderns use the timeless present, in the simple past or aorist, since a thing is proved generally true by having happened already.¹⁸² So, too, as Cicero says, Homer is fond of *hysteron proteron* and narrates mythic examples in literally preposterous order, a habit that peaks in Pindar. This orientation is further implied in the very word “before” with both its spatial and temporal meanings. In Hebrew we see such grounding in the past in the phrase *ʾĕl ʾĕlām*, which the Septuagint renders as “forever”,¹⁸³ that shares the same triliteral root with the verb *ʾālam*, “to conceal”, as if eternity were hidden. Egyptian script shows the same thing, for, as with Hittite,¹⁸⁴ its hieroglyphs may be written in either horizontal direction, with the therio- and anthropomorphic signs always pointing to the inscription’s start whence they have come so that, much to Herodotus’ dismay, they face opposite the direction of reading and writing.¹⁸⁵ Egyptians also often speak of the First Time, or Creation as a model for conduct.¹⁸⁶

In space, while Hebrews looked east, so the same word means both “right hand” and “south”, while another means both “left” and “north”, and while Greeks, who later established cartographic conventions, turned north so the Scaean, or left-hand gates were west of Troy flanking the Greek camp, Egyptians faced south to the “God’s-land” of Punt and the source of the Nile, which, as we noted in section 1.4 above, gave them the land itself.¹⁸⁷ *Hnti*, “southward” and *hnti*, “to sail south” both come from the preposition *hnt*, “in front of” (likewise *i3by* means “left” and “east” and *imn* means “right” and “west”, whence the mythological term Amenta,¹⁸⁸ an equation found in painting when the *Book of the Dead*’s hero marches rightward across the page bound for the other world), and tribute-lists are regularly arranged geographically, starting with the south. This had many results, as that one entered pyramids from the north, facing the chief cardinal point. Notable among these was that facing south, one turned one’s back to the pole-star. Around Polaris are tethered, that is to say revolve, the stars that never set. Egyptians called them “imperishable” unlike the merely “unwearying” ones, while to Greeks they were not bathed in the river Ocean.¹⁸⁹ The circumpolar stars give Mahaf his bearings as he brings his fares to live forever with Osiris in Orion.¹⁹⁰

The acts of facing so the future, including eternity, is behind and facing so the deathless, unwashed stars of immortality are behind come to the same thing.¹⁹¹ The forward gaze pointing mortals to the past is part of the human condition, for we do not know the future, to which only gods, above all those who grant immortality, can look back. The Bible tells us not to look at God and His operations, as Lot’s wife turned to watch Him lay waste the cities of the plain,¹⁹² and classical literature links this taboo to the soul’s posthumous fate in the tale of Orpheus—merely human, though once an Argonaut and perhaps like Mahaf a fisher of souls—who failed to

resurrect Eurydice when he turned too soon as he led her up from Hell.¹⁹³

The *Odyssey*'s hero spurns the goddess Calypso's request to live with her forever on Ogygia, and opts to go back to humankind, again a Near Eastern motif.¹⁹⁴ He sets sail, but a storm that wrecks his raft nearly drowns him, and his patron-god and constant helper, Athena saves him.¹⁹⁵ Before this, Leucothea makes her only appearance in a crisis-vision like Shackleton's delusion or the voice that bade Reinhold Messner, alone and freezing high on Everest, make dinner.¹⁹⁶ Once the mortal daughter of Cadmus, named Ino, Leucothea had fled her husband Athamas, father by Nephele of Phrixus, whose ghost the Argonauts had laid to rest, by leaping with their baby, Melicertes into the sea, where she now shares the lot of the gods as Leucothea, the "White Goddess", while her son has become the baby-hero, Palaemon, in whose honour the Isthmian games were held.¹⁹⁷ Here she offers Odysseus an "immortal", possibly silk, veil¹⁹⁸ that he must bind as a magic life-jacket round his chest to bring him safely ashore. Interestingly, in the *Pyramid Texts* the deceased offers the ferry-man a piece of cloth as either payment for his services or, like Aeneas' golden bough, a kind of celestial passport.¹⁹⁹ Once there, Odysseus must throw the veil back into the wine-dark sea while himself turning away.²⁰⁰ This shocks us, for the *Odyssey* elsewhere implies that no mortal but Heracles had become a god,²⁰¹ nor does drowning make one immortal as it can in Hellenistic and Christian thought,²⁰² yet it makes theological sense in an Egyptian setting, for the *Pyramid Texts* hint that Osiris, and so pharaoh after him, suffered a sea-change when the gods deified him by drowning, an idea still current in New Kingdom times,²⁰³ which is why relatives could not touch those found drowned, who were buried instead by Nile-priests, and also why Greek magical papyri call Osiris and other drowning victims by an Egyptian word, Ἑσιῆς, whose root meaning is "praised" or "honoured". Plutarch, meanwhile, replaces drowning as Osiris' cause of death with the not always fatal Greek motif of exposure in a floating chest.²⁰⁴

This brief doublet of Athena's rescue, prompted by no need of the story, is a breach of narrative-grammar best explained intertextually.²⁰⁵ Greek myth makes Ino a Semite: her father was Phoenician,²⁰⁶ her husband a child-slayer like the devotees of Moloch, in life her son's name recalls the Tyrian Melqart, and in death he was called Palaemon, ostensibly "the Wrestler", but perhaps corrupted from Phoenician *Ba'al-hāmōn*, "Lord of the Multitude". In her honour the Laconian Epidaureans threw into a pond μᾶζα, the rough soldiers' bread called "bannock", which has a Jewish counterpart in matzo.²⁰⁷ Ino was an aunt of Dionysus, whom Herodotus equated with Osiris; hence Joseph Fontenrose (1948: 147) guessed that she was once named Oino from Greek οἶνος, the pan-Aegean word for wine.²⁰⁸ A tale that blends the classical cliché of the savage stepmother²⁰⁹ with levantine harem-intrigue says that she faked a Delphic oracle bidding Athamas sacrifice his first-born, Phrixus, whom Nephele spared by sending the ram that swam him to safety.²¹⁰ This tale, too, has Biblical echoes in Sarah's envy of Ishmael and Abraham's barely averted sacrifice of Isaac, in which the ram is a stand-in, not a get-away vehicle. As we will see in the next chapter, the phrase "into the wine-dark sea", which here rubs shoulders with the ban on retrospection, was also Near Eastern.

Thus, by not looking as he flees eternity on Ogygia at the deathless veil of one deified like Osiris by drowning, Odysseus obeys the pan-Aegean rule that only the ferry-man of the other world and Osiris, Lord of Amenta can look back to eternity and immortality.

2.6 *Why Menelaus Got to Elysium*

Proteus says that Menelaus owes his good luck to no virtue of body or soul or any saving grace of the Olympians, but to being Zeus's son-in-law.²¹¹ Zeus's nepotism is a strange affair, if the mightiest god, who could not save the son for whom he rains blood, can forever reprieve a non-relative, yet there is no mistake, for next to arrive in the blessed isles are Nereus's son-in-law, Peleus and Ares's son-in-law, Cadmus.²¹² (Others arrive there, apparently, without the aid of powerful in-laws: Diomedes and Achilles, who married Medea there.²¹³)

Sons-in-law had special standing: Menelaus himself won the Spartan throne by marrying the incumbent's daughter,²¹⁴ and Penelope's suitors assume that whoever wins will be not just her husband but also king of Ithaca—rightly, it seems, for no one corrects them.²¹⁵ The clearest case in epic where a son succeeds his father is Oedipus, who took the Theban throne from Laius by mistake, while coincidentally marrying an heiress.²¹⁶ From these and other tales, Margalit Finkelberg (1991: 306-307) claims, assuming on scant evidence that the queen was hereditary priestess of the local goddess, and despite the overwhelming patriarchal cast of heroic Greek society, that royal succession was regularly matrilineal.²¹⁷

Yet two customs whereby Greeks paid back families for daughters, whose loss through marriage they felt only since the bride moved to her husband's home, refute this claim. Though in discussing marriage Homer may hint obliquely at dowries, he often names the bride-price as how the groom won the bride; should she prove unfaithful, the cuckold could demand it back.²¹⁸ At different times in history, self-absorbed Greek fathers trusted their sons to the care of teachers, pederasts whose cups they bore at parties, or in the limit-case of infant-exposure whatever kind soul might rescue them.²¹⁹ Boys were close to their mothers, and surrogates were often her male kin, as Achilles left Neoptolemus with Lycomedes, and Odysseus got his scar while hunting with Autolycus and sons.²²⁰ Thus the family reft of its daughter claimed, if but for a time, her son,²²¹ so strengthening the bond that Greek girls like Althaea and Antigone felt for their brothers, barbarian Medea being the exception that proves the rule.²²²

Though rare at best in Greece, matrilineality was basic to contemporary Egyptian dogma, for to legitimize their power after the foreign disruption of the shepherd kings in the Second Intermediate Period,²²³ and in keeping with the ancient royal title, "son of Ra", Tuthmosid pharaohs claimed divine descent. Since the divine parent had to be male, for everyone knows one's mother, while fatherhood is moot, they forged for their god a myth of lord's right of the first night, as in the story of the conception of Heracles, whereby Amun came in pharaoh's garb to the great king's wife and begat the heir apparent, as official lives say of Hashepsowe and Amenhotep III.²²⁴ Here too there is ancient precedent in the mythic conflict of

Horus with his maternal uncle Seth, to which we will return in our discussion of Iambe/Baubo, and which to some suggests matrilineal descent.²²⁵ (It was once thought that the title, “god’s wife of Amun”, borne throughout the dynasty by the main queen, also implies this role, but Egyptologists have now disproven this).²²⁶ As a practical outcome, the bloodline passed from queen to daughter, pharaoh ostensibly standing in for his heir’s true father, Amun. This actually happened with the dynasty’s first queen, Ahmose Nofretary, first to be called “god’s wife of Amun”.²²⁷ She was her husband’s sister, as a vase from Sinai proves,²²⁸ and Egyptologists assume for want of counter-evidence that she also bore both his successor, Amenhotep I and his principal wife, Meritamun. By the dynasty’s end Tut‘ankhamūn’s widow could still ask Hittite king Šuppiluliuma to marry her to one of his sons, who would be the new pharaoh,²²⁹ and the queen’s status is shown by Tušratta of Mitanni, who, when ill-used by Amenhotep IV, grieved not to him but to Queen-Mother Teye.²³⁰ Egyptians perhaps tried to blend this matrilineal tendency with their own patriarchy by strict endogamy, for pharaoh often took his sister as first wife. Alternatively, as Gay Robins (1983) has argued, pharaohs may have wed their sisters to mimic gods, emphasizing their divinity and distancing themselves from commoners, who spurned the practice,²³¹ in which case matrilineality was a byproduct of incest rather than its cause. Either way, it keeps power all in the family lest the king be beholden to his wife’s kin,²³² and however the causality worked, the two customs were inextricably linked. Greeks knew of royal Egyptian incest and it made them sick,²³³ though the Ptolemies would later follow suit.²³⁴ It follows that they also knew cases of Egyptian matrilineal descent.

These facts bear on Menelaus. Zeus came to rule by overthrowing Cronus, who had himself deposed Uranus, like Teshub in the Anush-Kumarbi-Teshub line of Hittite myth. Fearing a son still unborn who might oust him in turn, Zeus swallowed Metis when she was bearing what would prove to be his loyal daughter, Athena, and, in a deliberate ploy to shift strife from heaven to earth,²³⁵ wed Thetis to Peleus when he learned that she should bear a son greater than his father, a myth alluded to in the *Iliad*.²³⁶ One could say that, as Thetis’s and Peleus’s child, the Iliadic hero was living proof of Zeus’ succession-Angst. By the way, it is probable that Metis is a reflex of the Egyptian Maat, who is much more concerned with issues of succession.²³⁷

In a small pantheon short on nubile goddesses,²³⁸ both Cronus and Zeus were born of incest, so their succession was patriarchal and matrilineal at once. On this pattern, Zeus’ drastic attempts not to beget a rival would fail unless he dealt with Helen’s husband, the more so since she was worshipped at Therapne near Sparta.²³⁹ So he hatched a plan to part Helen and Menelaus after Hermione’s birth but before they could have a son.²⁴⁰ For all its cost in human lives, the project failed when Helen rejoined Menelaus after the war, and a new strategy was called for.

Elysium has perfect weather and, like Ogygia, is a make-believe, holodeck form of Olympus.²⁴¹ By sending Menelaus there in perpetual, if anodyne exile from the real McCoy, no less than by swallowing Metis and marrying Thetis off below her station, Zeus may have seen himself as forestalling a palace-coup.

3. THE VOICE OF THE DEAD IN THE *ODYSSEY* AND EGYPTIAN FUNERARY TEXTS

But hear the whisper,/ the uninterrupted report/ that
shapes itself out of stillness./ It rustles yet from
each young/ dead to thee.¹

—Rainer Maria Rilke

3.1 Introduction

Language marks the boundaries of communities: the barbarian says “bar bar”, gods have their own language, and animals speak in their various twitterings and brayings without word or logic, which are—but for very special cases—unintelligible to mortals other than seers like Melampus or visionaries like Palamedes.² The dead are bereft of the gift of speech.³ Their communication is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living, as T. S. Eliot puts it. This is not just the willful snubbing of an Ajax or a Dido, or the special status of such individuals as Narcissus the Eretrian, called Sigelus according to Strabo,⁴ since those who passed his tomb stayed silent, but more likely because he himself was, naturally, unresponsive in death. Rather, this is the general lot of the quiet grave that becomes a stock subject of elegy:⁵ remember that the resurrected Alcestis needs three days to be undedicated to the nether gods before she can speak.⁶ The corpse who speaks to Theognis of Megara is said by Athenaeus—for such a thing would be ludicrous if taken literally⁷—to be a riddling reference to a conch-shell.⁸ Though the living can speak to the dead with some hope that they will be heard, they had best not wait for an answer.⁹

Still, in Homer’s *Nekuia*, which is thought to give the most canonical Greek view of the other world free of Eleusinian or Orphic mysticism,¹⁰ we find the idea that the dead can speak to the living. Indeed, it is the quest for just such speech that

motivates Odysseus' journey. In the *Nekuia* the souls of the dead can speak with Odysseus once they have drunk the blood of a black sheep he has sacrificed. Teiresias admonishes him to step back from the pit and sheathe his sword, so he may drink the blood, and speak unerringly to him.¹¹

What is the root of this idea—so alien to the Greek notion of the quiet grave—that, if we give them blood, the dead may speak the truth to us? This chapter contends that, like Menelaus' good luck, it finds its context in the most elaborately developed, if strikingly un-Hellenic, ideas about the afterlife in the ancient world: those presented in the funerary texts of pharaonic Egypt.

Let us first consider one Greek idea about the afterlife and one about speech, both of which have possible ties to Egypt, and, if so, are deeply entwined.

3.2 *Blessed/ True of Voice*

Elysium is also referred to in Greek as the “(is)land of the blessed (μακάρες)”, to which gods translate specially favoured mortals after their earthly life.¹² This “(is)land of the blessed” mirrors in form and meaning the Egyptian “land of the *m3 ‘hrw*”.¹³

The term *m3 ‘hrw* occurs first in the *Pyramid Texts*, where it is closely linked to Maat, the personified “Truth”, which is often in the dual, for there are two Truths in the Hall of Judgement, one pleasant and one not.¹⁴ *M3 ‘hrw* is an interesting phrase. Meaning “true of voice”,¹⁵ when added to names of the dead, it practically equals our “deceased”. First applied to Osiris with reference to the time his regal rights, being disputed by Seth, were vindicated before the divine tribunal at Heliopolis, the same epithet is also used in connection with Horus as the “triumphant” avenger of the wrongs done to Osiris.¹⁶ Samuel Birch (1853: 119 note a) saw in it the possible source of Greek μάκαρ, a suggestion that Classicists such as Alexandre H. Krappe (1940) and Daniel (1962) have embraced.¹⁷ Though Pierre Chantraine (1968-77: 3.659) dismisses it, it warrants serious thought, especially since no other etymology is plausible.¹⁸ The derivation clearly passes the third of Jasanoff and Nussbaum's tests, for there is no simpler Greek word or root whence μάκαρ might plausibly come. As to their first and second criteria, things are more complex.

One does not immediately see any semantic match between the two words. *M3 ‘hrw* hails from the law-courts, which may have left other traces in Greek, if the Egyptian for witness, *mtrw*¹⁹ is the source of Greek μαρτύς, “witness”, as Ernstedt (1953: 49-50) suggests. It denotes an accused acquitted of the charges against him. Whether the root idea is that his own words have been found true, or as Rudolf Anthes (1954) argues, that the judge has pronounced him innocent²⁰ is unclear and irrelevant here. If one seeks a word for “blessed” in Egyptian, one must turn to *m ṛ*, or perhaps to Ἐσιῆς, which, we argued in section 2.5 above, is linked to Homer's myth of Ino-Leucothea. This form-critical consideration, in the parlance of Biblical hermeneutics, should not blind us to the wider implication of *m3 ‘hrw*,²¹ for in funerary contexts, when the gods' court acquits, you enter paradise. The *m3 ‘w-hrw* are not “blessed”, because that is the core meaning of the term; they are “blessed”,

because they are blessed.

When we turn to μάκαρ we find that its meaning too is far from clear. It seems a synonym of εὐδαίμων and ὀλβιος, though there is a slight difference in that μάκαρ describes happiness from an onlooker's point of view, εὐδαίμων how it feels from within, while ὀλβιος has the further nuance of worldly prosperity.²² Yet those other words are properly reserved for humans.²³ Greek applies μάκαρ to gods, whether Olympian or chthonian, heroes, whether in the isles of the blessed or in Hades, and even living humans²⁴—categories that Greek religion usually keeps quite distinct—, which points to a non-Greek world-view such as that of Egypt wherein the dead may join the gods as blessed, and even take that title while still alive, firm in the belief that one day will find them true of voice in the Hall of Judgement.

Morphologically, too, the path from *m3* 'hrw to μάκαρ is far from straight. *M3* 'must have had two syllables, since the middle letter is a syllable-divider. The Akkadian transcription on the Amarna tablets of a proper name formed from the corresponding noun suggests that the two unwritten vowels were /u/ and /a/.²⁵ The Coptic derivative ϣρϣϣ shows both that 'hrw was a monosyllable and that its vowel was probably /a/. Coptic also shows that the direct genitive relation led to loss of accent and consequent reduction of the first vowel in the first of the two words.²⁶ We can thus conclude that *m3* 'hrw was probably pronounced /m'a'Xraw/.²⁷ We would expect Greeks to treat the (') as a breathing, as in the Septuagint rendering of the names Eli and Amalek, though of course Greek does not record breathings within words; for some reason Greeks heard /X/ as a separate, short syllable.²⁸ Thus *m3* 'hrw would yield Greek *μ᾽ἄκᾱρεύ-ς, where the sigma is a Greek nominative ending, which was later curtailed to μάκαρς, Alcman's form of the word.²⁹ Indeed several Greeks were named Macareus, including a son of Helios and Rhodes and a man known to sleep with his sister – both Egyptianesque motifs.³⁰ Μάκαρς, meanwhile, lost the sigma, now lengthening the final alpha to compensate, now not.³¹

3.3 A Homeric Metaphor-Cluster Describing Teeth, Tongue and Words

Spells written on the coffin to aid the corpse in the trials after death, and the *Book of the Dead*, buried with him for the same purpose, show that, while in Assyria for example only priests were literate, in ancient Egypt everyone of any means could read, for thereon hung the very fate of one's soul. Some literacy is also proved by the ostraca inscribed by the workmen at Deir el-Medina.³² Moreover, this skill is no either/or in ancient Egypt as in most lands, since signs chosen for their symbolic—as opposed to phonetic—value figure in painting, so all Egyptian art to some extent reads like a text.

Maat is shown by two different hieroglyphs, an enigmatic one (Aa11 on the sign-list) thought to be the socle of a statue, though often written vertically;³³ and one that is clearly an ostrich feather (H6 on the list). Egyptians could not have chosen the latter sign on the charade-principle from similarity of sound between

Maat and the Egyptian word for feather, *šw.t*. They must instead have thought of its symbolic value, since whatever accords with Maat is no more weighed down by falsehood than a feather; just so, the socle suggests the order of the world founded on Maat. In any case the phonetic/ symbolic distinction operates only from our perspective; Egyptians themselves would no more have made it than metaphysical poet John Donne thought that his “joy at the uprising of this Sunne, and Sonne” was a witty pun.

Like certain other Egyptian formulae—“may he live, be prosperous, be healthy”, “repeating life”, or “victorious bull”—*m3 ‘hrw* is often written in short form with the second element represented as an oar-blade (sign P8 on the list), most likely on the charade-principle. During the New Kingdom the first element is written with the socle-sign,³⁴ and in the feminine (*m3 ‘t-hrw*) by the feather-sign;³⁵ by Ptolemaic times this latter form has become standard for the masculine also.³⁶ The former writing would have seemed wholly arbitrary, particularly if the statue-base were drawn vertically, but the latter, originally feminine, form had an easily readable meaning. “True of voice” in this writing, known to all middle-and upper-class Egyptians, was ideographically “feathered of voice”. This is very suggestive, for a Homeric formula also links speech and feathers, namely ἔπεα πτερόεντα. To those who object that the phrase is just a metaphor for speech, and neither has nor needs any back-story, I would reply that they seriously underestimate the mystery not only of metaphor but of speech itself. If speech really were so transparent and unriddling an act, why does French call it *parler*, from “parable” or Spanish *hablar*, from “fable”?³⁷

To those who object that, while ἔπεα πτερόεντα may be a metaphor, it is surely a Johnny-come-lately to the epic scene and so irrelevant to its history, I would point to the Mycenaean fresco in the throne-room of the “Palace of Nestor” at Ano Englianos, which shows a bird flying from the mouth of one strumming a lyre (FIGURE 19). Marios Philippides (1985: 27) well suggests that “the bird flying away from this singer is a pictorial representation of this singer’s poem, his inspired, ‘winged’ or ‘feathered’ words”.

In fact, this formula has a very interesting history. According to a common conceit of epic and elegiac verse the teeth form a fence, the ἔρκος ὀδόντων, designed to keep within the mind-body complex either ill-advised speech or the life force itself and to keep out poisons.³⁸ Those—the majority—who derive the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα from πτέρυξ, “wing”, regard it, like Vergil’s Rumour with malevolent wings, as a reference to winged, bird-like words.³⁹ The formula’s troublesome congener, ἄπτερος μῦθος⁴⁰ seems synonymous with ἔπεα πτερόεντα either by virtue of an intensive alpha or by analogy with a hypothetical, falsely divided *ἔπε’ ἄπτερόεντα, though some scholars have considered it to be of opposite meaning, with a privative rather than intensive alpha.⁴¹ If words are bird-like, we can say what kind of fence is formed by the teeth to keep them in: it is a cage.⁴² This is the conclusion drawn, correctly I believe, by Karl F. Ameis and Karl Hentze (1965: II.3 44), W. B. Stanford (1936: 136), and Frederick M. Combellack (1950-51: 21). Richard B. Onians (1951: 67 n. 4) in this

context recalls Plato's image of the agitated mind as a dovecot.⁴³ Thus the three formulae "the fence of the teeth", "winged words", and "winged (or "wingless") speech" form a small constellation of interrelated metaphors in the vast galaxy of the Homeric formular system.

So much has been established by earlier scholars; I would add a small consideration I think new. Homer tells us that words escape the fence of the teeth.⁴⁴ However one may escape from a fence, one most naturally flees a cage via the door. Oddly, in three of its four occurrences in Homer, the phrase ἄπτερος μῦθος is followed in the next line by the opening or closing of literal doors, which suggests that the image of bird-like words escaping from a cage through an open door has spilled over from the vehicle to the tenor of the metaphor. But what would constitute a cage-door consisting of teeth?

The tongue along with the mouth is often in Greek poetry accorded a door capable of serving the same restraining, silencing function as Homer's tooth-fence.⁴⁵ In the image's earliest use the doors rest on people's tongues, like the proverbial bull or seal.⁴⁶ Other cases, which all consist of ἄθυρος, "doorless", or compounds thereof,⁴⁷ reveal less the specific conception involved. Its nature is suggested by Aristophanes, who sees the tongue as itself being, and not just having, a door, when he has Euripides pray to one of his newfangled gods, the Pivot of the Tongue, γλώττης στρόφιγξ.⁴⁸ This metaphor is inspired by the idea of the tongue "pivoting", and is comforted by the noisiness of ancient crapaudine doors with their pivots and sockets in lieu of the modern hinge.⁴⁹ The swinging of such doors back and forth, like that of the tongue produces sound. The proper term for this noise is ψόφος; someone sneaking into a house seeks to avoid, metaphorically, the bombastic Aeschylus is full of it, and Pluto's doorkeeper, Aeacus, terrifies callers with the ψόφος of his words.⁵⁰ Knocking is another kind of door-noise and it is a cliché of comic doorway scenes⁵¹ that knocking, however timid, is always too loud.⁵² In Aristophanic parlance, the door, when knocked on by an unseen person, is speaking for itself.⁵³

Thus the tongue can be said to have a key whereby to lock the mouth.⁵⁴ So too Sappho's image of the tongue shattered by powerful emotion, which scholars have variously obelized or emended away⁵⁵ would have seemed less inaccurate and ugly⁵⁶ to those used to likening the tongue to a wooden structure.

To understand how deeply this idea penetrated Greek culture, let us pause to consider the expression that the tongue/ door equation found in another Aristophanic context. In the exodus of *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis, enjoying the fruits of his private peace, enters between two courtesans, whom he bids to kiss him softly περιπεταστὸν κάπιμανδαλωτόν.⁵⁷ What does this mean? The Scholiast says it describes the type of kiss in which lovers lick one another's tongues. In similar words in *Women at the Thesmophoria* Mnesilochus calls a bawdy song κατεγλωττισμένον καὶ μανδαλωτόν.⁵⁸ As a μάνδαλος is the bolt-pin of a door,⁵⁹ scholars have compared (ἐπι)μανδαλωτός with Teleclides' image of a kiss as γίγγλυμωτόν,⁶⁰ a word formed from γίγγλυμος, the pivot or gudgeon on which a door turns.⁶¹ The line from *Women at the Thesmophoria*

quoted above and the Scholiast's comment on the passage from *Acharnians* have led scholars most plausibly to conclude that the kisses described metaphorically as "spread", "with the door-bolt pinned", and "pivot-like" are what are literally called *καταγλωττίσματα*.⁶² Ancient descriptions show that these are what English speakers call "French kisses",⁶³ in which one inserts the tongue into another's mouth. Except in the case of Philocleon, who lets his daughter fish his three-obol juror's pay out of his mouth with her tongue, such kisses occur only in sexual contexts.⁶⁴

Jean Taillardat (1965: 17.9) characterizes *γίγγλυμος* as a sort of synonym for *μάνδαλος*, but a brief consideration of the mechanics of ancient doors will show that we are hardly dealing with synonyms. The *μάνδαλος* is part of the mechanism of the Spartan lock (FIGURE 20).⁶⁵ This consisted of a bolt on the inside of the door sliding freely in brackets attached to the door and, when the door is closed, into a socket in the doorpost. Above this bar sat a box containing a number of pins. When the bolt was shot into the locked position, these pins fell by gravity into corresponding holes in the bolt, thus locking the door. The door could be unlocked only by a thin plank fitted at right angles with dowels in the same pattern as the box and bolt. There was a transverse slot in the bolt directly under the pin-holes and a corresponding, though longer, slot in the door directly under the box of pins. The key, when slid into place through these two slots and lifted straight up, dislodged the pins so the bolt could be pulled back by means of a leather strap that passed through a separate slot and hung outside the door. The *γίγγλυμοι*, by contrast, were part of the hinging mechanism, being dowels fitted into the cross-braces at the top and bottom of the door and playing freely in sockets in the lintel and threshold. It is clear from this account that *(ἐπι)μάνδαλωτός* and *γίγγλυμωτός* are words related not by synonymy but by participation in the vocabulary proper to doors.⁶⁶ When the matter is considered in this light, we see immediately that *περιπεταστός*, which keeps close company with *ἐπιμάνδαλωτός* in the *Acharnians* passage quoted above, and which effectively describes parting the lips in French kissing is also a door metaphor.⁶⁷ (*Ἄνα*)*πετάννυσθαι*, "to spread", like the Latin equivalent *patere*, is so often said of opening doors that it can be used alone, with the word for door in ellipse.⁶⁸

The equation of tongue and door is actualized in courting ritual. By custom, the excluded lover passes the night on the doorstep of his beloved, singing *paraclausithyra*,⁶⁹ as the young man does at the end of *Assembly Women*.⁷⁰ The lover accompanies his song with various gestures, which include kissing his beloved's door, doorpost, or doorstep.⁷¹ It consoles him that the door barring him from the object of his desire nonetheless, if only metaphorically, affords the kisses he hopes to encounter within. In the passage from *Assembly Women* the impediment is not the door but the old woman who opens it. This is one impediment, however, on which the youth refuses to place his mouth.

Though fond of it, Aristophanes did not invent the association of tongue, door and pivot, for we find already in the *Iliad* the line *στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσο' ἐστὶ βροτῶν*, "mortals' tongues are voluble".⁷² I suggest that Homer's line, like the

phrases Aristophanes derived from it, pictures the tongue as a door pivoting noisily on its hinge. It is the door to the cage of the teeth; by unlocking and moving it, one opens that cage and lets those winged creatures, words, escape. Homer's complex of metaphors for teeth, tongue, and words has not three members then, but four.

This complex, we have seen, is predicated on taking *πτεροεῖς* as "winged", hence bird-like. When we recall Teiresias' words quoted at the start of this chapter, we see that the phrase *νημερτέα εἰπεῖν*, "to speak unerringly" also alludes to words that are *πτερόεντα*—not "winged", however, but rather "feathered" like arrows that can miss or, as here, hit the target of truth.⁷³ Indeed, this is an etymologically better understanding of *πτεροεῖς*, since the idea of "winged" ought rather to be expressed by some word from *πτερύξ*, such as *πτερυγωτός*—though *πτερόν*, "feather", is capable already in Homer of the synecdochic application to the wing as a whole that becomes the word's only meaning in patristic Greek.⁷⁴ We should also recall that though traditionally rendered "word" in translating this phrase, *ἔπος* in fact as the nominal reflex of *εἰπεῖν*, "to speak" denotes any utterance, whatever its length. Thus *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*, more accurately translated, are "feathered utterances".

What does this tell us? We have already seen that *μάκαρ* is probably a loan-word from *m3 'hrw*, which Egyptians closely connected with the goddess Maat and her feather. If some Greek bard were aware that the feather was linked to truth, it is tempting to imagine that he borrowed *m3 'hrw* a second time, not now as a loan-word, but as a calque, using *πτερόεντα* to modify *ἔπεα*.

Epic bards would have known that this phrase was apt for men now dead, the heroized "blessed ones" who were the subject of their song—a point to which we will return—,⁷⁵ but its precise sense puzzled them, coming as they did from a Greek background wherein of course the feather of Maat played no part. Though we have no direct evidence, it may be that different bards, championing rival interpretations of the formula, coined new phrases based on their understanding, as some connected *νηός* with *ναίειν* and others with *νηῦς*; hence we find on the one hand a formula meaning "to speak unerringly", and on the other ones meaning "the fence of the teeth", "winged (or wingless) words", and "mortals' tongues are voluble".

For one who accepts it as plausible, this scenario of bards competing with one another in borrowing and reinterpreting foreign words and phrases shows how Homeric vocabulary expanded by a process of continual accretion, with borrowed words often so well disguised by being woven into native thought-patterns that their very existence is controversial.

3.4 Double Borrowing in Greek: The Case of the Wine-Dark Sea

Double borrowing of a foreign phrase is not without parallel; in a later chapter we will meet *ntry*, the "divine" substance, sodium carbonate, borrowed, I will argue, once as "nectar" and once as "natron". In some cases of double borrowing, one is a loan, the other a calque. One might think, suggestively also in a religious context, of Latin *omnipotens*, which English borrowed as "omnipotent" and calqued already

in Caedmon's hymn as "almighty". So too in Homeric Greek the probable borrowing of Semitic *tršš*, "sea" into Greek as *θάλασσα* did not prevent the word's original meaning of "wine-red" from inspiring the phrase *ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον*, according to a theory of Gordon's. Let us pause briefly to consider his hypothesis, since it provides a model for our understanding of how bards might have borrowed *m3 'hrw* as both *μάκαρ* and *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* as well as of the double borrowing, whose mutual contamination produced the phrase *Ἡλύσιον πεδίον* on the theory set out in section 2.1 above.

The Greek word *θάλασσα* does not come from the Proto-Indo-European word represented for example by Latin *mare*,⁷⁶ which seems to have meant "marsh", and an etymology from outside the Indo-European family, originating as it did far from the Mediterranean, is a priori likely. Hebrew *Taršš* means "sea" according to Jerome.⁷⁷ Gordon (1978, 1992) has advanced it as a possible etymon via Phoenician for *θάλασσα*. Jerome says the meanings are identical, and the considerable formal differences between the two words shrink if one supposes that the borrowing occurred when the old Semitic case-endings were still in use from the nominative or more likely from accusative **taršša*.⁷⁸ *θάλασσα* might have arisen by the following four stages. First, /š/ was naturally represented by its closest Greek equivalent, /s/. Second, the aspiration lost from /š/ was restored by changing /t/ to /th/, as often in the Septuagint rendering of proper names. Such a transfer of aspirates is attested in the declension of *θρίξ*, *τριχός*, "hair", and the conjugations of *θάπτειν*, "to bury", *τρέφειν*, "to nourish", and *τρέχειν*, "to run". Third, there was an interchange of /l/ and /r/, so well attested within Greek (e.g. *ἔρχεσθαι/ἦλθον*, "I come, I came", *αἶρειν/εἶλον*, "I take, I took") that the Linear B script failed to distinguish between the two phonemes, and that may have been provoked here by the phonetic similarity to one of the Greek metaphors for sea, *ἄλς*, "the salty thing". Lastly, metathesis of /i/ (which then changed to /a/) and /s/, with concomitant regression of the accent, completed the word's change into its Greek form.

Meanwhile, *taršš* itself has a suggestive etymology. Ugaritic *trt* means "must, new wine",⁷⁹ and since there was a shared pan-Aegean vocabulary for the vintage, as in the words for "wine" that we saw in section 2.5 above, and for "mixing", with words such as Hebrew *masak*, and Greek *μίγνυσθαι* and *μίσγειν*,⁸⁰ Gordon has suggested that *taršš*, like the Homeric epithet for the sea, *οἴνοψ* meant "wine-dark" or "red". Similarly Coptic *τροῦρεῖ* means "red", though this word may come from Egyptian *dšr*, of the same meaning. Certainly wine and sea have much in common: wine is shipped, it makes one sea-sick,⁸¹ the game of kottabos in some versions involves sinking toy boats, and the Rhodians, among others, added seawater to their wine, an odd custom to which we shall return in Chapter Six.⁸²

I will end this discussion of winged words that has held our attention for the last two sections by arguing that the image of the door-tongue (*στρέπτη*. . . *γλώσσα*) inspired a phrase not found in Homer, but only in later authors, namely *δελτὸς φρενός*, the "tablet of the heart". This will shed light on yet another side

of epic vocabulary that problematizes attempts to prove that it contains loan-words, namely the self-censorship whereby bards sometimes hide information that they surely had.

3.5 Proetus' Folded Writing-Tablet and the Pivoting Human Tongue

Without broaching the hoary Homeric Question, for which it is such crucial evidence, one can affirm that Proetus' message in the Bellerophon-story of *Iliad* Six refers, perhaps uniquely in Homer, to some form of writing, however primitive.⁸³ Homer describes the material form of this letter as a πίναξ, "board", or "writing-tablet".⁸⁴ The paradoxos gives the adjective to this word variously as πτυκτός, "folded" or τυκτός, "hand-made".⁸⁵ Editors rightly prefer the former on the rule that the more difficult reading should prevail, for all boards are hand-made, but few folded.

The folded board, or more precisely pair of hinged-together plates, for writing on originated in the Near East, where examples have survived, most notably in the LH shipwreck found in 1984 off Ulu Burun near Kaş, Turkey (FIGURE 21),⁸⁶ whence Greeks borrowed it, as they admitted getting the kindred technology of the alphabet from the Phoenician Cadmus.⁸⁷ Its Semitic name is *dlt*,⁸⁸ which Greek borrowed as δέλτος.⁸⁹ This word, no less than the object it describes, is at home in Bellerophon's tale with its clear oriental background, for we find it in Hippolytus' story, which apes Bellerophon's, each involving the folklore-motifs of a woman who, when a younger man rebuffs her advances, decries him to her husband as a rapist, a letter that aims to remove the troublesome party in a love-triangle, and an equestrian accident.⁹⁰

The phrase πίναξ πτυκτός, a hapax in Homer, is clearly no formula. Since it is not the proper term either, it must be an innovation, and it seems likely that Homer uses it, rather than δέλτος, either as a conscious archaism fit for the heroic world of his epic, as he says "baneful signs" in lieu of the proper term for letters, if such indeed existed,⁹¹ or from a contempt for foreign technology. Epic elsewhere uses archaism for verisimilitude in depicting Mycenaean society, betrays xenophobia, can coin new terms to suit its ends.⁹² Later bards, apparently not recognizing a writing-tablet behind the neologism, corrupted πτυκτός to τυκτός.

The writing tablet adds to or stands in for memory.⁹³ Greek epic was oral, as Milman Parry proved, and memory its age-old medium: the Muses are the daughters of Memory, who love to remember, and the bards' successor Simonides a memory-wizard.⁹⁴ Memory relies on the heart (φρήν), and the writing-tablet naturally suggests as a metaphor for memory "writing on the δέλτος of the heart". This is common in Greek from Pindar onward,⁹⁵ and we find it in Hebrew too.⁹⁶ Of course, later Greek and Hebrew poets could have hit upon this image independently, for it is obvious enough.⁹⁷ Yet its very obviousness suggests that it may well have been coined at the outset and travelled with the new invention. If so, why do we not find it in Homer? Perhaps because, working within an oral tradition, he dislikes, though he knows, the metaphor.

The original meaning of Semitic *dlt* is "door", the only sense attested for

Akkadian *daltu* and, with one exception, for Biblical Hebrew *daleth*.⁹⁸ The meaning “writing-tablet” appears first in Ugaritic,⁹⁹ which applies the word to writing-tablets, seemingly since they look like folding doors,¹⁰⁰ both involving two pivoting valves with a sealing mechanism.¹⁰¹ It is not at once clear that Greeks knew this, any more than most English speakers suspect that “book” comes from the word for beech tree, since runes were first carved on beechwood tablets.¹⁰² Certainly there never was a door in the history of carpentry with the triangular shape of the letter that Greeks called delta, also from Semitic *dlt*,¹⁰³ and this—the letter’s shape in the earliest surviving proto-Hebrew inscription also¹⁰⁴—seems to show the top-view of a folding door, as on a modern architectural drawing, but in both open and closed positions at once, and indeed, many early examples have one side extended beyond its angle so that its length approximates the sum of the other two. Just so, Egyptians wrote their ideograph for ‘3, “door” as viewed from above (O31 on the sign-list; compare *pr* and *ḥwt*, “house” and “village”). Moreover, Geometric artists often drew what they knew rather than what met their eyes, seldom, for example, superimposing figures, a stylistic trait like Homer’s parataxis and failure to narrate simultaneous events.

On the other hand, when one compares the names of certain letters of the alphabet such as “alpha” from a Semitic word for cattle, which may also yield Linear B *e-re-pa* = ἐλεφ-ᾶς, “ivory” (for Europeans thought elephants an odd type of cow),¹⁰⁵ “gamma” from Semitic for camel (if it does not mean boomerang), whence also κάμηλος, “camel”, and “lambda” from the Semitic for ox-goad, probable source also of ῥάβδος, “rod, wand”,¹⁰⁶ one sees that Greeks knew something of their meaning. Moreover, boards remained the writing-surface of choice in Greece for centuries: Draco and Solon inscribed their laws on wooden tablets, a call for help such as we would cast to sea in a bottle was written on an oar-blade, and a catalogue or register, whatever its material form, was called a πίναξ til well into the Alexandrian period.¹⁰⁷ Doors themselves appealed as writing-surfaces to both lovers and lunatics.¹⁰⁸

The change of meaning within Semitic tongues from “door” to “writing-tablet” is easier to grasp when we recall that in the ancient Near East doors were sometimes the object of theft, and hence portable. Greek thieves tended to work in the open: the clothes-thief at gymnasia, the offering-snatcher in shrines, and the highwayman on public roads.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes, though, they plied their trade in the privacy of others’ homes. Since the ancient house lacked outside windows,¹¹⁰ one seeking unlawful entry had either to dig through the adobe wall as a sapper or break down the door.¹¹¹

The trick-or-treaters who sang the Rhodian swallow-song go one better, and threaten for their trick to carry off the door or the lintel of the good burgher at whose threshold they present themselves before abducting his wife.¹¹² As uttered by children, this threat is comic hyperbole, like Sappho’s injunction that the carpenters raise high the roof-beam to make way for the coming groom,¹¹³ but without the indecent double-meaning. The pan-Aegean cultural milieu, to which we have often referred, however, prompts me to say that it also has a Near Eastern parallel,

noteworthy not least since Rhodes lies on the trade-route that brought many Near Eastern goods and stories to Greece.

A cache of fifteenth century legal texts from the Hurrian city of Nuzi cites alleged offenses by the mayor, Kushshiharbe, and several of his henchmen, including the redoubtable Peshkilishu, who kidnapped the wife of one Paya.¹¹⁴ Another passage reads: "Thus Arshawa: 'I am a resident of Tursha. And Peshkilishu entered my house, tore off my door, and took it away; and my house they robbed'"¹¹⁵

According to Theognis of Rhodes, the swallow-song started in the days of Cleobulus of Lindos, but in view of its subsequent longevity,¹¹⁶ it may be much older. Could real heinous crimes committed in Mesopotamia have survived in folk-memory in the playful form of a children's begging-song, just as memory of the real Gunpowder Plot and the notorious Guy Fawkes lives on four centuries later among British children, who go from door to door asking for "a penny for the Old Guy"?

The heart, then, metaphorically a δέλτος, is ultimately a door. Thus shrewd hearts are well built like doors, one can be either in or out of one's wits as one can be in or out of doors, and in madness, wits can be distorted or warped.¹¹⁷

Key to truthful, rational speech, as, by its invocation of the Muse, epic claims to be, is that the heart be connected to the tongue. A wise man's tongue grows in the midst of his breast, and strays not from whence it draws its words, while, for its part, the sane man's heart is fair of tongue.¹¹⁸ In a notorious Euripidean scene, Hippolytus tells Phaedra's nurse that his tongue swore an oath, but his heart remains unsworn.¹¹⁹ This verse recalls Achilles' contempt for anyone, hateful as the gate of Hades, who hides one thing in his heart, while speaking another.¹²⁰

From these considerations we can suggest that Greek bards modelled the image of the door-like tablet of the heart on that of the voluble tongue, for God always draws like to like,¹²¹ but that, though bequeathing the phrase to later poets, they suppressed it in their own verse either that they might more plausibly depict the heroic age, or since they spurned writing itself. We see therefore that, as well as naturalizing borrowed words and images, they were also apt to censure them. This tendency, which we will consider again later on, further complicates our inquiry.

3.6 *Blood for the Ghosts/ Invocation-Offerings*

The long detour we have taken over the last four sections has shown that Egyptian ideas about the voice of the dead had great impact on Homer, entering the very formulaic language itself. This being so, we may suppose that the close connection Egyptians felt between the voice of the dead, the mourner's voice, and offerings of food, shown by the offerings in the formula quoted in section 1.5 above, was also known to the bards. If this be true, we can answer the question, with which this chapter began, of why the *Odyssey* says that if we give them blood, the dead may speak the truth to us.

Like Egyptians, Mycenaeans fed their dead. Scholars have thought that "the thirsty ones" on the Pylos tablets refer to the dead,¹²² and geometric art shows attempts to feed the corpse: a row of dead ducks tied to the bier, or a child giving

his late father a fish (FIGURE 22), early forerunner of the Attic Totenmahl reliefs. Eventually this impulse got out of hand and Solon became the first to pass laws limiting funeral expenses.¹²³ You feed the dead for a reason. Like Odysseus in *Odyssey* Eleven or Clytaemnestra and Electra in Aeschylus *Choephoroi*, those who fed the dead wanted something back, like the necromancy that came from restoring their voice.

It is against this background that Teiresias can be thought to speak the truth to Odysseus once he has drunk the offered blood. The dead were “true of voice” in that they spoke words “feathered” with Truth. Their words would naturally fly unerringly, but only if given the offerings that were the “going forth of the voice”.

3.7 The Paradox of Living Heroes

Here we meet a further problem, for in actual Homeric usage the formula ἔπεα πτεροέοντα has no special tie to eschatological contexts. True, the dead may utter winged words, as do the ghosts of Elpenor, Anticleia, Achilles and Heracles in *Odyssey* Eleven, but so too can living humans, and even gods.¹²⁴ If the phrase arises, as I have argued, from Egyptian funerary vocabulary, how can its range of use in Homer be this wide?

The answer lies in the fact that Homer uses the word ἥρωας, “hero” to refer to living warriors, while in later authors it normally denotes dead people who receive special religious honours.¹²⁵ The difference between life and death is big, so this twofold usage seems a paradox. We can resolve this paradox by recalling that Homer’s heroes are of a race qualitatively different from our own, as we are reminded when they easily lift things that we could not—Nestor’s cup, say, or the boulder lobbed by Hector in battle.¹²⁶ This is the race that, Hesiod tells us, inhabited the earth before us, some of whom made it to the isles of the blessed, his version of Elysium.¹²⁷ R. K. Hack (1929: 70–72) long ago noted these facts, saying that it is not so much that Homer uses the word ἥρωας in the senses of “excellent, noble, brave warrior, brave man,” as that he applies it in its proper sense of “venerated dead” to the living characters in his poem, because they have already in life the semidivine status that marks the hero throughout Greek history. The cult of heroes scarcely appears in the poems, since as a general rule there is no one to do the worshipping. A condition of inferiority is a prerequisite to worship, so the heroes are precluded from worshipping one another.

I would put the same argument in slightly different terms, using the approach of narratology, which Irene J. F. de Jong (1987: esp. 101–148, 2001) has brought to bear on Homer. Narratology distinguishes between the narrator whose actual words we hear and what Mieke Bal (1977: 32) has dubbed the focalizer through whose eyes we see the story, as when an adult narrates an event from her own childhood, couching her sometime childish feelings in her present adult vocabulary. In the *Iliad* the focalizer narrates events around Troy as though watching them unfold before him in real time. For the narrator, though, the events narrated belong to a past not only long gone, but indeed qualitatively different from the present. These men now cold in their graves receive heroic honours, so it is fitting that they

address one another, proleptically as it were, as the heroes they are destined to become.

Just so, Homer gives his characters ἔπεα πτεροέοντα generally, whether or not they have yet in his narrative reached the blessed state in which their words are feathered with truth. Then by extension he so describes any speech, even gods'.

I have now shown that some of the most strikingly un-Greek parts of Homer's lore about death stem from Egypt. I must next try to situate their arrival in time and place, and then show how they could have come from Egypt to Greece and why, once there, they struck a chord. The next four chapters will each address one of these points in turn.

4. THE ORIGIN OF MEMNON

He was Dawn's pride/ and handsome horseman;/
now just a handful of snow.

–Nikos Gatsos, after Federico García
Lorca¹

4.1 Introduction

Ammenemes III of Egypt built his mortuary temple, Herodotus' labyrinth,² at Hawâret al-Makta' in the Fayoum, southwest of Memphis. In describing it, Strabo gives Ammenemes' name, *Imn-m-ht*, as Ἰσμάνδης—if he really means him, for even Manetho could not sort out all the kings of that name—and says that Ἰσμάνδης built the structure at Abydos (modern El Arâba el Madfuna) called the “Memnonion”.³ In *Black Athena*, Bernal argues from these data that the most plausible candidate for the Memnon of Greek tradition is Sesostris' son, successor, co-regent and fellow campaigner, Ammenemes II.⁴ This chapter weighs Bernal's idea, asking if Memnon could have had an Egyptian model, if he could have been Ammenemes II, and if Amenhotep III is a rival candidate. Certainly reminiscent of Memnon, we shall see, are the statue of Amenhotep called “the vocal Memnon”, the pharaoh's name and his biography.

4.2 An Egyptian Model for Memnon?

Memnon is the main character of Arctinus' *Aethiopis*, a dithyramb of Simonides and an Aeschylean trilogy.⁵ From Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis* and elsewhere in archaic art and verse we can compile a brief biography.⁶ Son of the dawn-goddess Eos and the mortal Tithonus⁷ and king of the Ethiopians, Memnon helped Troy after the death of the pro-Trojan Amazon Penthesileia, summoned, in one version by Teutamus of Assyria.⁸ Very handsome like his father, he wore bronze armour made by Hephaestus.⁹ He killed Antilochus as the latter defended his own father, Nestor, whose chariot had been disabled by Paris' arrows, and was

in turn killed by Achilles.¹⁰ Eos begged Zeus to spare him (FIGURE 23), but a weighing of fates during which the sorrowing mothers Eos and Thetis flanked the scales, each pleading her son's case, determined that he must die (FIGURE 24).¹¹ With Zeus' blessing, Eos made him immortal.¹²

The Ethiopians, whom Memnon rules, live and often entertain gods¹³ by the river Ocean on the eastern edge of earth¹⁴—Memnon is, after all, Dawn's son. Ionians may have invented for symmetry the western branch of the tribe;¹⁵ traditions in languages of the Hamito-Semitic family also record two lands of Cush, one south of Egypt, one by the Mesopotamian river of paradise, Gihon.¹⁶ Hecataeus first clearly put the Ethiopians south of Egypt, though already Hesiod links them to the Libyans, and the *Odyssey* includes them in Menelaus' African wanderings.¹⁷ The rival tradition placing them in Susa is post-Homeric.¹⁸ Also first attested after Homer is their hundred and twenty-year life expectancy.¹⁹

The epistyle block from a temple of Athena found by Schliemann in the Troad proves that Alexander the Great thought Hisarlık the Troy of legend. Signs of frequent destruction there, including that of Troy VIIa,²⁰ suggest that poets based the legend on an actual conflict and its combatants on real people.²¹ So an Egyptian pharaoh could have been Memnon's model. The name Ammenemes, or even Ἰσμάνδης, is hardly like "Memnon", but this may not matter. An Egyptian loan-word in Greek must have been transformed twice, first in Akkadian, the koine of the period,²² and second in Greek itself. The result in this case was a good warrior's name: Memnon, "*The Steadfast or Resolute*".²³ Aiding these processes could have been that μένειν, "to remain", poetically reduplicated as μῑμνειν, resembles by chance Egyptian *mn* (compare Coptic ΜΟΥΝ, ΜΗΝ), "to be firm, remain, be established".

That said, three things actively point to an Egyptian model. First is the weighing of fates. Since Zeus weighs Hector's and Achilles' fates to decide which must die in the *Iliad*,²⁴ one might think that he did so often, with Memnon among others. Not so. The Iliadic saga was not the original subject of Mycenaean bards, who would hardly have told their king a tale in which he is abused by a lesser provincial, must apologize to him, and is less brave than many of his underlings.²⁵ Moreover, the deaths of Patroclus, Hector and Achilles in the *Iliad* mirror those of Antilochus, Memnon and Achilles, who die this order in the *Aethiopis*; and Nestor is protected in both, by Diomedes in one, by Antilochus in the other.²⁶ The question of priority imposes itself. Otto Gruppe (1906: 1.679-83) showed that, though the *Aethiopis* received its final form at Arctinus' hands, its story was already known to those who sang the wanderings of Odysseus.²⁷ Heinrich Pestalozzi (1945) further argued that Patroclus and Hector are not original and were based on Antilochus and Memnon, an idea taken up with varying enthusiasm by the "neoanalysts" Johannes T. Kakridis, Wolfgang Schadewaldt, Georg Schoeck and Malcolm M. Willcock, the last of whom preferred to think of mutual contamination of two coexisting stories.²⁸ M. E. Clark and W. D. E. Coulson (1978) argued that Sarpedon, whose killing by Patroclus starts the Iliadic vendettas, was also based on Memnon, each with the

virtuoso solo performance on the battlefield that Greeks called *aristeia*, a parent who cannot save him, and a nonpartisan insistence on his death. By this logic, Zeus first weighed Memnon's fate, then Achilles' and others';²⁹ certainly, by weighing Hector's and Achilles' fates, he discovers nothing not already known, and the heroes' mothers make more natural advocates than the Olympians Athena and Apollo.³⁰ This, in turn, suggests Egypt as the source for Memnon, for, as Bernal notes, the weighing of two fates (κῆρε) recalls the weighing of the deceased's heart (*ib*, which Greeks might translate as κῆρ) against the feather of Truth in the Egyptian other world, after he or she has pronounced the Negative Confession described in section 1.5 above. A crucial spell in the *Book of the Dead* describes this judgement of words, and depicts it in the accompanying vignette (FIGURE 7).³¹ Though the date in the reign of the sixth dynasty Menkare that the spell claims for itself is suspect, it is old. A green siltstone heart-scarab belonging to the high official Nebankh, who lived during the thirteenth dynasty, is inscribed with the spell. Tomb-robbers arrested in 1125 admitted stealing the jewelry from the neck of the mummy of the seventeenth dynasty Sobkemsaf II; the only object that would have been around his neck is a green jasper heart-scarab, which is also inscribed with the heart-weighing spell (FIGURE 25). Onians argued that the Egyptian motif differs from its agonistic Greek counterpart, but E. Wüst, Bernard C. Dietrich and Vermeule have stressed the similarities.³² Osiris, judge and saviour of the dead³³ presides over one weighing, Zeus the Saviour, father of Dike, "justice", conducts the other; one sends people to the second death in the maw of the Devourer of the Dead,³⁴ the other to a literal death. The objects weighed are homonyms,³⁵ and κῆρ can perhaps mean not "fate" but "spirit of the dead".³⁶ Moreover, Aristophanes parodies Aeschylus with a judgement not of fates, but of words.³⁷

Second is that Memnon was an ally of Penthesileia, for Egyptians portrayed the god of the yearly Nile-inundation, loincloth-clad Hapy, who, though male, has either one (FIGURE 26) or two breasts.³⁸ He recalls the Amazons, Egyptizing in their reversed sex-roles and love of the bow, if they cut off their right breasts to facilitate archery and so were called A-mazons, "breastless", though the iconographic tradition shows them now mutilated (FIGURE 27), now not.³⁹ The Amazons wore loincloths, object of Heracles' ninth labour.⁴⁰ Amazons are a cavalry: Hippolyte was an Amazon, and Hippolytus son of an Amazon, perhaps Theseus' wife, Hippe.⁴¹ In sound, these names recall Hapy or some variant, such as *H'py t3 mhw*, "inundation of the land of papyrus". Their sense indirectly recalls him, too, for Greece is not watered by flood as is Egypt, but by springs, created either like Lerna by Poseidon, the horse-god, or like Hippocrene by Pegasus, a horse.⁴²

Third is Memnon's surprising apotheosis.⁴³ This suggests Egyptian provenance, since all dead pharaohs became immortal, for in Egyptian soteriology everyone was equated in death with the god Osiris to the extent that "Osiris N" means "the late N".⁴⁴ The dead king's soul does not join Osiris in the other world as mere mortals' souls do, but ascends the two skies⁴⁵ to join him forever in his celestial abode, the constellation Sah (*S3h*).⁴⁶ Proof is the star-targeting shafts of Khufu's pyramid that

served, as we saw in section 1.5 above, to guide his soul by the pole star to Sah.

Two things suggest that Mycenaeans had met the Osirian faith, which was centred at Busiris, the “house of Osiris”⁴⁷ in the delta twenty-five kilometres from Mendes, whose goat-cult was known to Greeks, as we saw in section 1.4 above. First, plebeians join Osiris, who judges their words as Lord of the West, in which role he strongly recalls Homer’s Rhadamanthys, as we noted in section 1.6.3 above. Second, the tale that Demeter failed to burn off Demophon’s mortality as she wandered in search of Persephone seems to derive from Isis’ failure to immortalize Malcander’s son by fire during her quest for Osiris, as we saw in section 1.6.5 above.⁴⁸

Greeks were perhaps even dimly aware of Osiris’ stellar home. They called Sah Ὠρίων in epic, and in lyric Ὠαρίων or Ὠαρίων.⁴⁹ None of these forms has a tempting Indo-European etymology, in contrast to Orion’s neighbour, Sirius, home in Egyptian thought of Osiris’ sister-wife, Isis, for Sirius has been related to the stem of σείειν, “to shake, twinkle,” and the infix found in Avestan *tišt-ry-a*, “star”.⁵⁰ Greek abhors hiatus, as proved by the host of means it evolved to avoid it—aphaeresis, contraction, crasis and elision—and even Ὠαρίων often undergoes synecphonesis or synizesis,⁵¹ so the development is from the lyric to the epic form. The hiatus in the earlier form must mark a lost semivocalic glide or voiceless sibilant. One possibility is etymologically opaque, but the other points to *Ὠσορίων. The reason is this. There is yet another form of the name: Οὐρίων,⁵² accompanied by a tale that a certain Hyrieus from Thebes prayed that he might have a son. Zeus, Hermes and Poseidon visited him and told him to sacrifice a bull that his son might be born. When he had skinned the bull, the gods urinated—perhaps a euphemism for ejaculation—on the hide and, on Hermes’ orders, Hyrieus buried it. From that place the promised boy was born, and they called him Orion.⁵³ This story portrays the constellation’s shape as a rawhide bedding with the stars Al Nitak, Al Nilam and Mintaka like stains in the genital region, while in the standard view they form Orion’s belt (FIGURE 28). It also purports to explain the name with οὐρεῖν, “to make water”, itself a euphemism for ὀμείχειν, “to piss” coyly used in this onanistic tale.⁵⁴ Just as the epic form of Orion’s name suggested that he hunted in the mountains,⁵⁵ so Οὐρίων likely suggested peeing on an oxhide rather than the other way round. If so, we can hypothesize an earlier *Ὠσορίων, which, after loss of the intervocalic sigma, may have become Ὠαρίων in lyric to avoid the unsavoury and silly link to urine, because Greek, unlike Sanskrit, for example, prefers variety of vowel-quality,⁵⁶ or through attraction in Orion’s role as beloved by the pre-Greek⁵⁷ term for lovers’ discourse, ὀαρίζειν; indeed the future participle ὀαριῶν would mean “aiming to pillow-talk”. As Κρονίων is to Cronus, so *Ὠσορίων would be to Ὠσορος, attested once in the simplex as a variant of Osiris,⁵⁸ and sometimes found in compounds.⁵⁹ (Osiris itself is from *Wsir*, Coptic οὐσιρε or οὐσιρι.) The determinative for Sah, carved, for instance, on the north face of the coping-stone from Ammenemes III’s pyramid at Dashur, is a man walking with a sceptre, looking backward and stretching behind him his left

hand, which holds the star (FIGURE 16);⁶⁰ in other words, the constellation is personified as a giant long of leg and lengthy of stride,⁶¹ and Plutarch tells us that Orion is the soul of Osiris' son, Horus,⁶² which would explain the patronymic.

As for Memnon, if he was pharaoh, he ascended the throne only once his father had become Osiris in Sah, and Orion, like Cephalus and Clitus, is a doublet of Tithonus, comely and loved by Eos—for his stars rise in the east like the dawn—til jealous Artemis killed him.⁶³ Once dead, he walks the asphodel fields below in a symbol both Egyptian and Indo-European for posthumous bliss.⁶⁴

4.3 *Ammenemes II as Model for Memnon?*

As for Ammenemes II as the specific model for Memnon, the period is wrong, Bernal admits, but one cannot rely on epic chronology: Pyrrhus, conceived while Achilles was hiding on Scyros at the war's start could slay Priam by its end, just ten years later; Nestor never tires of saying that he has seen three generations. There are, though, two other problems with Bernal's idea. First, it relies on a possible, but entirely unprovable confusion of Ammenemes II and III. Second, Greek distorted Ammenemes' name. Besides Manetho's Ammenemes, Diodorus gives two forms: Mendes and Marros.⁶⁵ While Strabo's manuscripts read Ismandes, his epitomator reads Maīndes, editors August Meineke, C. Müller and F. Dübner emend to Imandes, and Horace Leonard Jones suggests further reduction to Mandes.⁶⁶ The link between Ammenemes III, not to mention his namesake, was Memnon of the Memnonium of Strabo's other Ismandes according to a single word in his text, which editors judge without apparent bias a scribal error.

Other models for Memnon have been mooted. Humban, "master of heaven", at some points headed the Elamite pantheon.⁶⁷ His name was borne in various forms by several kings including Khumban-numena I, who reigned in the mid-thirteenth century. A later Khumban-numena appears in the Babylonian Chronicles as *Me-na-nu*.⁶⁸ Georg Hüsing (1917: 47), on the doubtful premise that Susa was the Ethiopians' real home, proposed this king as Memnon's model.⁶⁹ His idea has not won favour.

Sethos I of Egypt built his mortuary temple at Abydos north of Thebes. This precinct Greeks called a Memnonion and said that when Ethiopians learned of Memnon's death, they hung wreaths on its acacia trees.⁷⁰ It was a tourist spot, and in the fifth century they left graffiti there.⁷¹ Wolfgang Helck (1979: §2) thought that Strabo's statement that Egyptians called Memnon Ismandes stemmed from a confusion of Sethos with his son, Ramses II, who finished his tomb. Ramses' prenomen, *Wsir-m3 't-r* 'appears in the Hattusha archive as *Ua-aš-mu-ua-ri-a*;⁷² Diodorus gives it as Osymandyas, Shelley's Ozymandias, king of kings.⁷³ Ramesside finds on Cyprus and LH IIA 2 - IIB pottery in early nineteenth dynasty contexts at Memphis show close contact between Ramses' Egypt and Greece, so Helck may be right.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, he is forced to suppose a confusion of Sethos and Ramses, and his case rests only on the tradition of a Memnonion, such as Greeks found all over the world.⁷⁵

4.4 *Amenhotep III as Model for Memnon?*

All these suggestions are weak in some way. There remains, though, a possible Egyptian Ur-Memnon more promising than any discussed so far: Amenhotep III.

4.4.1 *The Vocal Memnon*

Amenhotep set up in front of his now demolished mortuary temple at Thebes several twenty-metre tall monolithic self-portraits of quartzose sandstone, two of which still survive facing twenty-six degrees south of east, where the sun rises on the winter solstice (FIGURE 29).⁷⁶ This orientation on that day per year when, longest delayed, it was most anxiously awaited, links them to dawn, as Greeks would have seen, for as we saw in section 2.4 above their temples, too, gave onto the rising sun. Like all royal statues, they would have had an important cult.⁷⁷ The more northerly was broken in two either by Cambyses II of Persia during his invasion of 525 or by an earthquake, probably that of 27, for quakes are rare in Egypt.⁷⁸ From the part that remained intact about an hour after dawn on certain days came forth a sound as though of a slight blow, which one would best compare to the breaking of a guitar- or lyre- string.⁷⁹ Greeks called it a statue of Memnon and the whole precinct yet another Memnonium. The odd noise drew pilgrims and tourists, who wrote on the statue one hundred and eight Greek and Latin texts between 20 and 205 of our era.⁸⁰ Someone later restored it. Antoine-Jean Letronne thought that it was Septimius Severus when he visited in 170 of our era,⁸¹ perhaps since the statue, loquacious for Hadrian, did not speak to him, and indeed no inscription marks his visit, and because he hoped to reclaim the favour of the embattled pagan gods as Stesichorus had done with his palinode.⁸² Glenn W. Bowersock (1984 = 1994: 253-66) noted that the last dated text rules out Septimius as conservator, and puts the lack of an inscription down to want of available space. He suggests that Zenobia of Palmyra restored the statue when she conquered Egypt in 272 of the common era.⁸³ Whoever did it, the repair was disastrous: the noise ceased abruptly, and the colossi survive to this day in silence.⁸⁴

As to the noise, Strabo suspected fraud, and the motif of living statues like the figures on Achilles' shield, who chat like living mortals,⁸⁵ could have inspired someone to concoct the miracle of a speaking stone⁸⁶ based on prior equation of hero and king. Eusèbe Salverte and John Gardner Wilkinson, following Strabo, thought that priests hammered a ringing stone hidden in the statue's lap; yet why not so reward Hadrian's wife, Sabina?⁸⁷ Ancients except Strabo believed the noise a true miracle. Moderns, though, think it natural. Geological noises exist, for instance, the sound of cascading dunes that spoke as spirits in the air to Marco Polo in the Gobi Desert.⁸⁸ Rare but more pertinent is the sound that air makes passing through pores in solid rock as the temperature rises at sun-up.⁸⁹ Jean Dusaulx suggested two centuries ago that this explains the Vocal Memnon, and Napoleon's scientific commission and Brugsch heard such noises at Karnak.⁹⁰ If this is right, the statue's shape was crucial. This and its silence after the repair suggest that the noise depended on the damage, and was not an original property of the statue. As to the damage itself, scholars tend to write off the first explanation, Cambysian vandalism,

as product of anti-Persian feeling of Greeks or Egyptians, who accused Cambyses of many crimes, starting with slaying the Apis-bull.⁹¹ Moreover, had he wished to wreck the statues, why break only one? The blame rests, then, with the quake.

Since Greeks explained the noise as Memnon greeting his mother, some think they first called the statue Memnon after 27, while for others the noise chanced to confirm established legend.⁹² If it resulted from the damage, and the damage occurred in 27, and we have seen reason to believe both, the second view is right, for three papyri in Turin's Regio Museo Egizio call the precinct "the Memnoneia" already in the sixth year of the co-regency of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II.⁹³ Furthermore, the statue greeted the dawn from the start, as its orientation shows. After the nineteenth dynasty, Hittites drove the Egyptians from the Aegean. Never again til Greeks founded Naucratis around 610 did they re-encounter Egypt.⁹⁴ It is no surprise, then, that we hear of the Vocal Memnon first in Ptolemaic times.

4.4.2 The Name "Amenhotep"

If the noise but confirmed a prior equation, one might guess that the equation stems from similar names. As to sound, the pharaoh's nomen, *Imn-ḥtp*, "Amun is pleased", in Greek becomes Amenophis or Amenoth,⁹⁵ and his prenomen, *Nb-m3 ḫ-r*, "Ra is the lord of truth", appears in the Amarna tablets twelve times as *Mi-im-mu(-u)-ri-ia*.⁹⁶ The linking of Amenhotep to Memnon might involve this prenomen, because Greek graffiti in the twentieth dynasty Ramses VI's tomb call him Memnon, since, as Jules Baillet first saw, Ramses shared Amenhotep's prenomen.⁹⁷ As to sense, Amenhotep's names were theophorous, containing those of the gods Amun and Ra, who were different facets of the sun, and, according to Philostratus, certain Egyptian priests claimed that Memnon was named after his mother.⁹⁸ Eos differs from the sun less than first appears. Egyptians portrayed the sun as a falcon-headed man called "Horus of the horizon", and as part of his reformation, Amenhotep's heir, Akhenaten moved his government in its sixth year north to a new site which he named Akhetaten, "horizon of the sun-disk". Its hieroglyph (N 27 in the sign-list) shows that the word "horizon" in both names means the place of sunrise. In other words, the sun was most revered at dawn. Conversely, Greek often uses "Eos" generally for day or daylight, as when Homer says the horses of Aeneas are the best of all horses under Eos and the sun, and Vergil's Aurora goes with the sun in his chariot all the way across the sky.⁹⁹

4.4.3 Amenhotep as the Model for Memnon

It is hard to imagine that Greeks conflated Amenhotep with a preexisting Memnon, since their names were, at best, vaguely similar. They might, though, have modelled Memnon on him. This view was advanced, after a suggestion of C. Smith, by Gilbert.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps since Gilbert put his case in an Egyptological journal, classicists have unwisely ignored it.¹⁰¹

We can state Gilbert's four points in light of recent evidence. First, Amenhotep's Aegean contact is proved by nine scarabs and vases found at Mycenae bearing either his cartouche or that of his wife, Tiy,¹⁰² by the twelve Aegean sites

named in his mortuary temple at Kôm el-Heitân just west of the colossi, including Messenia, Nauplia, and even Mycenae (*Mwkn*), for it would be perverse to think of the namesake, no longer identifiable, Cretan town when Amenhotep's cartouche was found on objects at the city in the Argolid, and by LH IIIA 2 - IIIB pottery found in a tomb from his reign at Gurob, and Amarna.¹⁰³ This evidence must be seen in the context of Mycenaean travel as far afield as Spain, and perhaps even Britain.¹⁰⁴ Though he called himself as part of his "Horus name" *k3 nht h' m w3st*, "Strong-bull-arising-in-Thebes", it was with Memphis that Amenhotep had closest ties: as heir-apparent, he was likely priest at the Ptah-temple there, and as pharaoh he built himself a shrine next door.¹⁰⁵ Ptah's temple gave its name to Memphis, *hwt-k3-ptḥ*, which, as we saw in section 1.4 above, Greek borrowed as "Egypt".

Second, Memnon was Priam's ally, as Amenhotep married to cement military pacts with eastern sovereigns.¹⁰⁶ As well as his "great king's wife", the Egyptian Ti, Amenhotep married Giluhepa, daughter of Šuttarna II of Mitanni, an event commemorated in a series of scarabs,¹⁰⁷ Tadu-Khebat, daughter of Tušratta of Mitanni, and the daughter of Kadašman-Enlil of Babylonia¹⁰⁸—recall Diodorus' claim that Memnon was an Assyrian ally at Troy, for Assyria was still part of Babylonia. Proof that Amenhotep dominated these alliances is that he refused to marry his own daughter to Kadašman-Enlil.¹⁰⁹

Third, Memnon was son of Eos, as Amenhotep claimed descent from Amun-Ra. As with any pharaoh, the first name of his royal protocol was the Horus-name that cast him as Horus, sun-god and first pharaoh, incarnate, and the fifth and last name, the nomen, included since Djedefre, a pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, the phrase "son of Ra".¹¹⁰ But Amenhotep was Amun-Ra's son in a special sense. Bas-reliefs on the west wall of the "Birth Room" of the Amun-temple at Opet—the same temple we met in section 2.3 above as the destination of the annual boat-procession—show the god coming to Amenhotep's mother, Mutemuia, disguised as his earthly father Tuthmosis IV and begetting him (FIGURE 30).¹¹¹ The accompanying text reads in part:¹¹²

Saith [Amon-Ra, King of gods] Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over the Apts¹¹³ (Karnak): He hath made his forms (appearance) like the majesty of this husband, King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-men-Kheperu (Thothmes IV), Giver of Life: [he found] her reclining on her couch in the beauty of her palace; she waked at the odour of the god;¹¹⁴ she was glad before his majesty; he advanced towards her at once, he. . . to her, he made her see him in his form of god when he came upon her;¹¹⁵ she exulted at beholding his beauty; his love went into her members; the odours of the god flooded the palace (?); all his fragrance was from Punt.

Whether Amenhotep spread this story through shame at his descent—Adolf Erman (1890) thought that Mutemuia was Mitannian¹¹⁶—or from blind devotion to his eponymous Amun is unclear. The only known precedent is the miraculous conception of Hashepsowe shown in the Amun-temple at Deir el-Bahri. On the strength of the story, Amenhotep adopted the sobriquet "the Dazzling Sun-Disk",

which was not a standing, but an idiosyncratic title, Like Louis XIV of France's *le Roi-Soleil*. No Greek hearing the tale would think of Memnon; what comes to mind is Zeus' tryst with Alcmena disguised as Amphitryon and the birth of Heracles,¹¹⁷ a story very rich, as Maurizio Bettini (1994) has shown, in highly interesting cultural models. But Zeus is no sun-god, and to keep Amun-Ra's solar character while telling the story, a Greek must have twisted it. We have already seen that Amun-Ra resembled Eos. This would explain why Memnon's divinity is on the distaff side, for Eos is grammatically feminine, as is also sometimes the Semitic word for sun, *šmš*.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the maternal family, the more important in a hero's pedigree and education,¹¹⁹ is the fitter to be divine.

Fourth, Amenhotep is handsome in his portraits, like Memnon and unlike Akhenaten, who seems a victim of adiposogenital dystrophy or Fröhlich's syndrome—obese and epicene (FIGURE 31).¹²⁰

One point Gilbert neglects. Amehotep's real father was *Dḥwty-ms*, "Thoth has begotten him", hellenized as Tuthmosis, a name resembling Tithonus.¹²¹ That Tithonus ages but never dies, and suffers greatly from this misfortune recalls Ethiopian longevity, changed in Greek fashion to a warning against striving for immortality.¹²² Pharaohs were not long-lived, but as Mycenaean bards perhaps knew,¹²³ were fierce archers, often being buried with their bows. The laminated, non-homogeneous bows of the eighteenth dynasty¹²⁴ are longer than the simple weapons they replaced, and Hugh Last mused that in dubbing the Ethiopians μακρόβιοι, ostensibly "long-lived", Herodotus was confusing βίος, "bow" and βίος, "life".¹²⁵

Victor Loret found Amenhotep's half-rotten mummy, and Grafton Elliot Smith's autopsy early in the last century showed that he died probably in his forties of natural causes (FIGURE 32);¹²⁶ yet when he went to join Osiris, he became immortal like Memnon. Amenhotep never waged war in Asia Minor or elsewhere, save for a minor action against the Nubians at Ibhat in the Sudan; yet his propagandists amplified that one campaign, so that even Eusebius knew that in his reign Ethiopia was in contact with Egypt.¹²⁷

4.5 Conclusion

In short, Bernal argues well that epic based Memnon on a real person, rightly seeks him in Egypt, but fails to rule out Amenhotep. In the compound, familiar ghost that is Memnon, whatever Ammenemes' role, folk-memory of Amenhotep must loom large. If this is true, we can further conclude that Egyptian influence on Homer dates back to the eighteenth dynasty, when Egypt was preeminent in the Mediterranean, Mycenaean culture was at its zenith, and Greeks were fighting in the Troad a war that was to become the central theme of epic song.

5. LOCAL COLOUR: THE EGYPTIAN BASIS FOR SOME HOMERIC DESCRIPTIONS

5.1 Introduction

By expanding our inquiry in the last chapter beyond Homer's afterlife to include Memnon, we have situated Greek borrowings in time. Now as we turn to four Homeric descriptions that, like Memnon, have nothing to do with the afterlife—namely blue-haired gods, black earth, rosy-fingered Dawn and white-armed handmaids—we will be able to fix such borrowings also in space, geographically.

5.2 Gods' Blue Hair in Homer and in Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt

When a pleasing colour and splendid shining glows
in hair and it flashes brilliant in the sunlight, at one
moment shimmering honey-golden it is muted in
soft shadow, at another it rivals in crow-blackness
the blue rings on the necks of doves; what gives a
more pleasant image than that?

—Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*¹

This section is in effect a footnote to a footnote. Phidias once told the painter Panaenus that he based his chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia on Homer's take on the heaven-shaking moment when that god yielded to Thetis by nodding with his blue (κυάνεος) eyebrows.² In his discussion of Phidias' statue—the footnote in question—Charles Picard (1935: 1.136 n. 1) refers to Homer's text, and wonders whether these blue eyebrows might not be explained by comparison with eyebrows and wigs incised with lapis lazuli, noting that Egyptian art also used this odd technique, that the Greeks left alone.³ The suggestion implicit in this rhetorical question has been largely ignored by Homerists,⁴ yet I shall try to show in what follows that it has greater explanatory value than the views these same scholars

generally prefer.

Before I start, I freely admit that Graeco-Roman colour terms are notoriously tricky: cows in Homer and even in Linear B are “wine-dark”, Sappho turns green in the throes of an anxiety attack; Pelias’ wits are white; purple swans grace the text of Horace; and so on.⁵ Faced with such psychedelia Gladstone (1877) claimed that Homer saw the prismatic colours only vaguely and as a blur, or in other words that Greeks of the archaic period were colour-blind. While the debate continues with input as recent as that of Birch Moonwomon (1994) and John Lyons (1999), more recent scholars are less drastic than Gladstone. Eleanor Irwin (1974: 22) says that Homer’s colour-terms are imprecise, since his characters cannot think in abstract terms and so ask what colour is. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (1981: 5) argues that earlier students of Greek colour-terms have created most of their own problems by focusing on verse. If one ignores literary history, in which verse pre-dates prose, and assigns the label of literal meaning exclusively to prose usage, while attributing such extra meanings as appear in poetry to the semantic expansion of imagery, one can conclude that terms like *κυάνεος* normally refer only to colour—and to the same colour that modern Westerners typically see.

Blue hair, whether of eyebrows, head or chin, is a striking feature of Homer’s gods. As well as Zeus, Hera has blue eyebrows, Dionysus has blue hair and *κυανοχαίτης* or *κυανοχαῖτα*, “blue-haired” is a standing epithet of Poseidon, which he once shares with Hades.⁶ This adjective is also used of the manes of horses, as well as of bulls, though once the horse in question is the god Boreas in disguise.⁷ Among later poets, Thetis, Victory and Thebe have blue hair or eyebrows.⁸ Against this list we can set the two mortals who have blue hair in Homer: the dead Hector before Aphrodite embalmed him, as noted in section 1.3 above, and Odysseus, who has a blue beard or hair when Athena transforms him during his meeting with Telemachus.⁹ Yet Greeks thought their gods human in nature and of the same race as men;¹⁰ their hair ought, then, to be some colour naturally occurring in humans, such as black. So why this odd convention?

Homerists are divided over its meaning. Walter Leaf and Matthew Albert Bayfield (1895/1898: 2.488 ad *Il.* 20.144) pointed to the then newly discovered Bluebeard from the Old Parthenon at Athens, whose now faded hair and beard were still bright blue (FIGURE 33) and whom they believed to depict Triton, and argued that Poseidon is “blue-haired” because he is a sea-god.¹¹ To this Irwin (1974: 89) rightly objects that Homer’s sea has many colours—“grey”, “misty”, “black”, “wine-dark”, “grey”, and “purple”—but never blue (the closest being “violet”), for *κυάνεος* does not modify the sea until Simonides.¹² In any case, this fails to account for Zeus, Hera and the rest.

Another approach is to deny that *κύανος* and derivatives mean blue at all, and to translate them as “black” or “dark”.¹³ The chief argument for this is that *νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα*, “a black cloud veiled him” and *νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε/ κυανέη*, “a *κύανος*-coloured cloud veiled him”,¹⁴ being interchangeable, are semantic equivalents. Synonymy is of course a striking feature of epic,¹⁵ yet while many epithets for one noun often give the scope that the

formular language requires, they need not be synonyms. Homer's ships are variously "hollow", "beaked" and "swift", clearly not the same. Moreover, its congeners in several Near Eastern languages show that κύανος denotes something distinctly blue. These include Sumerian *KÙ.AN*, "the metal of heaven", Akkadian *uqnû, qunû*, "lapis lazuli (or the colour thereof)", Ugaritic *lqn(i)û*, "lapis lazuli", Hittite *ku(wa)nna* and Luwian *kuwanzu-* both meaning "copper, calcium copper silicate (that is, blue frit)".¹⁶ Not only were the Mycenaeans familiar with this last substance, which they called *ku-wa-no*,¹⁷ but they even manufactured it, if the *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* of the Linear B tablets are indeed *κυῤῥανοφοργοί, "workers in lapis lazuli", as they seem to be.¹⁸ Blue-glass paste encrusted on the gypsum frieze of the Great Megaron at Tiryns confirms this (FIGURE 34).¹⁹ Thus only an aesthetic aversion to the idea keeps one from rendering Homer's κύανος as "blue". It is suggestive, though hardly probative, that while Sidney Chawner Woodhouse's dictionary (1910: 80, 195) gives many Attic words for "black" and "dark", κύανος is not among them.

For her part, Irwin (1974: 91-92) says that the darkness of Zeus' and Hera's brows is particularly suited to the context, and relates to their emotions as well as their hair colour, but this leaves Poseidon κυανοχαίτης out of account, and it is Parry's axiom (1937 = 1971 = 414-18)²⁰ that the bards did not choose such standing epithets to fit contextual features like a character's mood at a given moment.

More recently, Richard Janko (1992: 116) has argued that κυανοχαίτης, which he renders "dark-maned", was originally applied to Poseidon in animal form (compare "ox-eyed" Hera and "owl-eyed" Athena noted in section 1.6.3 above). This may of course be true, but Janko adduces no evidence, and translates the compound's κυανο- element as "dark", whereas we have seen that "blue" is the obvious and natural meaning. Moreover, the verb παραλέχεσθαι, "to lie together in bed", used of Boreas in equine disguise mounting mares so disturbs Alfred Heubeck (1972b: 131-35 = 1984: 81-85)—for horses have no beds nor do they lie together in them—that he supposes the phrase, including epithet, transferred from Hesiod, where it is used of Poseidon.²¹ The equal possibility of transfer from horse to god and vice versa weakens both hypotheses.

A possible way out is afforded by passages that associate κύαμος with handcrafted artefacts. We have already mentioned Zeus' nod inspiring Phidias. More pertinent are passages themselves inspired by artefacts. Κύαμος is used on the legs of a table, on the breastplate of Agamemnon, on his shield, and on the cornice of Alcinous' palace, which recalls the Tiryns frescoes.²² It also marks out a ditch on Achilles' shield²³ in a passage that Alexandre Moret (1912: 244) well compares to a painting in the eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Nakhti. To these texts we may add Athena giving Odysseus woolly hair like the hyacinth flower.²⁴ While this may refer to the form of the hyacinth,²⁵ the alternative ancient view that it refers to the flower's colour seems just as likely.²⁶ Indeed, it is hardly possible to ignore the colour of a flower.²⁷ Thanks to Sappho we know that the ancient hyacinth has a purple blossom.²⁸ Moreover, Odysseus' later transformation also involves blue hair or beard, as we have seen. If Athena indeed makes Odysseus' hair purple, it is

interesting that the text illustrates this with an epic simile drawn from the sphere of metalworking.²⁹

Since epic associates κύαυος with objects so often, we may suspect that real artefacts inspired the bards. And artefacts there were, Mycenaeans themselves producing some, as we have seen. When we ask if any used blue to represent divine hair, the answer is a resounding yes. As Picard noted, it was a convention of Egyptian art, derived from the Near East like lapis lazuli itself, which was mined in Afghanistan,³⁰ to colour the hair of gods and the wigs of kings and the dead with either lapis or the ersatz blue frit.³¹ Well-known examples include the inner coffin of Yuya, father-in-law of Amenhotep III, which has blue eyebrows, a limestone relief of Smenkhare (perhaps it represents Tut'ankhamūn) in a blue wig with one of the daughters of Akenaten in a blue crown, the back of Tut'ankhamūn's throne, showing him and Queen 'Ankhesenamūn in blue perukes, the innermost coffin of Tut'ankhamūn with blue eyebrows and postiche, a relief of Hapy, the Nile-god with blue hair on a sandstone pillar from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, and the Opening of the Mouth vignette from the Papyrus of Hunefer *Book of the Dead*, which shows both mummy and Anubis with blue hair (FIGURES 26, 37-39).³²

Egyptian texts confirm gods' flesh to be gold and their hair lapis lazuli. So the hymn to Osiris at the beginning of the *Book of the Dead* describes him as "golden of body, blue [*hsbd*] of head".³³ We read on a boundary stela of Akhenaten, "Beware of saying what Re said when he began to speak: 'My skin is pure gold'".³⁴ Again, the tale of the destruction of mankind on one of the gold shrines from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn and elsewhere begins, "It happened [in the time of the majesty of] Re, the self-created, after he had become king of men and gods together: Mankind plotted against him, while his majesty had grown old, his bones being silver, his flesh gold, his hair true lapis lazuli".³⁵ So too a poet comparing his beloved to the Sun in the *P. Chester Beatty I* calls her hair true lapis lazuli.³⁶ Colour was important to the Egyptians, the word *iwn* also meaning "nature", or "disposition";³⁷ oddly its determinative is the sign for human hair (D3 in the sign-list).

The Greeks felt the same about gods' flesh. So Aristophanes' Xanthias prays to the golden gods, Pythagoras tried to prove his divine origin by showing his golden thigh, and Zeus impregnated Danaë, and on one version Alcmene, in a golden shower.³⁸ Apart from the Homeric texts already adduced, Greeks seem not to have thought gods' hair blue. Nonetheless, they believed hair a sign of vitality,³⁹ and, gods being superhuman, they felt their hair special in some way. Normally it is golden,⁴⁰ but the immortal lock that served Nisus as a magic life-token was said to be purple,⁴¹ and a ceremonial Mycenaean boar's tusk helmet from Dendra in the Argolid whose "tusks" are made of blue glass⁴² recalls blue pharaonic wigs.

To explain this belief we should perhaps look to the sky, brilliant by day, and deep blue flecked with stars by night. Greek gods, who inhabit Olympian homes, are celestial (Hades, though he lives elsewhere, is their next of kin), and their substance is naturally that of the realm wherein they dwell. What better candidates than gold for the daytime sky and lapis lazuli, with its sparkling inclusions of pyrite,

for that of night? If blueness attaches specially to Poseidon through his link to water, as Leaf and Bayfield thought, we recall that earthly water just reflects that of heaven, as noted in section 2.2 above.

We saw in section 1.3 above that, among other influences, Egyptian beliefs and artefacts affected Mycenae especially during the Thutmosid and Ramesside periods. These arguably spawned in the incipient epic vocabulary loan-words concerning gods and the dead. It may be that references to blue eyebrows and hair entered the epic word-hoard at the same time and from the same source.

One might object that the Greeks could have got to the point of using blue of gods' hair independently. Certainly *κυάνεος* is used in enough sombre contexts to make it appropriate with all due reverence for the gods in such descriptions: it describes the cloud with which a god veils a dying warrior, the mourning veil of Thetis, the gloom in the chest in which Polydectes sends Perseus and Danaë to their apparent deaths, as well as Hades himself.⁴³ This jibes with later uses of the word, for Selina Stewart (forthcoming) has shown that Aratus uses it exclusively in threatening contexts though admitting that its blueness was never in doubt.⁴⁴ Yet it is only for divine mourning that *κυάνεος* is appropriate; with humans the correct word is *μέλας*.⁴⁵ So we are thrown back on the question of why blue is peculiarly appropriate to gods, and foreign influence seems the simplest explanation.

Again, one might accept influence while thinking that this idea more likely came straight from Mesopotamia, but the Tiryns frescos and other Mycenaean objects show that Bronze Age Greeks used what Egyptians called *ḥsbḏ iryt*, "made lapis" rather than the real thing, *ḥsbḏ m3*, that is *κύανος σκευαστός* as opposed to *κύανος αὐτοφυής* in Theophrastus' parlance.⁴⁶ This suggests Egypt rather than Mesopotamia as the immediate provenance for both the artistic material and the theological-cum-poetic convention.

5.3 Black Earth/ the Land of Egypt

The Homeric phrase "black earth" is not so much a formula as an idea, since it not only appears in the formulaic system consisting of nominative *γαῖα μέλαινα, κελαινή... χθών*, genitive, *ἡπείροιο μελαίνης*, and accusative, *ἔρεμνὴν γαῖαν*, but also generates the sentence *ἡ [νείδος] δὲ μελαίνειτ' ὀπισθεν [τοῦ ἀρότρου]*, "the furrow turned black behind the plough", with further variations in the Homeric hymns and the lyric and dramatic poets,⁴⁷ and a survival in Modern Greek ritual laments in yet another form, *μαύρη γῆ*, "black earth".⁴⁸ The persistence of the phrase in so many forms and contexts and especially its use of the personified goddess Earth⁴⁹ incline A. E. Harvey (1957: 216-17) to think that there must at some stage have been some deep religious association behind the word, which was doubtless forgotten even by the Homer's time, but which continued to make the adjective a regular concomitant of words for earth.

Four explanations of the phrase have been advanced: that it refers to fertile soil as opposed to sterile clay or sand; that it refers to the land, which looks dark when viewed from the sea; that it refers to death, through the location of Hades' under the earth; and finally, that it refers to the land, which is dark by contrast to the bright

sky.⁵⁰ Each of these explanations accords with some uses of the phrase, though none will all, but none accounts for its persistence or for its deeply religious feel detected—rightly, I believe—by Harvey.

Furthermore, with the exception of the volcanic islands of Hydrea (modern Hydra) and Melos,⁵¹ Greek soil is not noticeably black, but predominantly either terra rosa, which, as the name implies, is bright red owing to the presence of iron oxide, or rendzina, that is humus-carbonate soil.⁵² The place noted in antiquity for the blackness of its soil was Egypt.⁵³ This black earth (μελάγγαιος, *nigra harena*) accounts for the Egyptian name for Egypt, *Km.t*,⁵⁴ which means “the black land”.⁵⁵ This layer of silt rendered the region fertile, as Herodotus expressed by saying that Egypt is the gift of the river (see section 1.4 above). The Nile inundations were not a purely natural phenomenon, for mention of canals in the *Pyramid Texts* shows that artificial irrigation was in place already in the period 2625-2475.⁵⁶

To return to Homer, two of his three names for Greeks, namely Argives and Danaans, relate to the story of Danaus. Though his name suggests a Proto-Indo-European word-root meaning “river” exemplified by the river-names Danube, Dnieper and Don, and by the Sanskrit word *dānu*, which is both a common noun for “fluid,” “drop” or “dew”⁵⁷ and the proper name of a demon whose son, Dānava, Indra vanquished to release the primordial waters,⁵⁸ his ties are to Egypt rather than Europe. According to Greek myth, Danaus was a king of Egypt who came, via Rhodes, to Argos in Greece, with his fifty daughters, who were fleeing marriage to their cousins.⁵⁹ Argos was arid, as it still is, and Danaus sent his daughters to draw water.⁶⁰ One of them, Amyclone, was raped by Poseidon, who created for her the springs of Lerna (modern Myloi) on the Argolic Gulf, famous as the site of Heracles’ later encounter with the Hydra.⁶¹ Except for Hypermnestra, his daughters killed their husbands and were punished in the underworld by drawing water with a sieve.⁶² (It is true that Danaus says he is the great great grandson of Inachus, but this story is a bid to legitimize his claim on Argos, as the Dorians, though palpably invaders, claimed descent from the Theban Heracles.⁶³)

The gentilic name *Dnn* occurs four times in texts from the reign of Rameses III,⁶⁴ and a tablet from Amarna records the death of the king of Danuna.⁶⁵ These two peoples are probably to be identified with Homer’s Danaans.⁶⁶ If so, the Greek myth of an Egyptian connection for Danaus is not pure fiction, but is grounded in historical reality. The excavations at Lerna by the American School, meanwhile, have corroborated the importance of the springs in the myth by showing that the site was almost continuously inhabited from the sixth to the first millennium.⁶⁷ Some scholars have most plausibly concluded that the myth represents a folk-memory of the introduction of irrigation-technology into Greece from Egypt.⁶⁸ Owing to the nature of Greek geography, this technology was used to exploit not rivers, as in Egypt, but springs such as that at Lerna.⁶⁹

To conclude this section, artificial irrigation rendered Greek soil arable like the land bordering the Nile. I suggest that either to recall or honour the Egyptian origin of this technology, the epic poets made “black” a standing epithet for earth. This

suggestion recalls the first explanation for the Homeric phrase given above, but sets it fully in its historic context. This, in turn, explains why the term “black earth” had religious associations for Homer well beyond those warranted by its negligible descriptive force.⁷⁰

5.4 Rosy-Fingered Dawn/ the Rayed Sun-Disk of Akhenaten

5.4.1 Introduction

The Homeric formula ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως, “early-born, rosy-fingered Dawn appeared” is strangely evocative,⁷¹ yet there is no consensus as to what it evokes or why. The present section is in two parts: the first outlines the controversy so far, advocating a return to the interpretation of Wilhelm Jordan; the second offers an explanation of the cultural context in which the formula so interpreted may have arisen.

5.4.2 Dawn, Who Has Roses in her Fingers

Nineteenth century scholars tended to refer the formula to the literal phenomenon of morning twilight. On this reading the fingers metaphorically represent the sun’s rays as a gigantic spread hand.⁷² Julius Braun claimed that in Mediterranean sunrises, the number of such rays is nearly always just five.⁷³ Alternatively, following Alcaeus’ phrase, δάκτυλος ἁμέρα, “day is but a finger’s breadth”, we are to think of a thin band of light along the horizon.⁷⁴

In the last century, scholars preferred to think of the personified goddess, Dawn, wife of Tithonus and mother of Memnon, whom Homer elsewhere calls saffron-robed and fair-haired. In this case, the fingers will be literal, and if any rhetorical trope is involved, it will be not metaphor but synecdoche, drawing attention to Dawn’s fingers as a part for the whole. This is a return to the reading of the Scholiasts, who gloss rosy-fingered Dawn as “the corporeal goddess.”⁷⁵

Scholars now increasingly realize that these two readings are not mutually exclusive,⁷⁶ but that the formula may polyvalently denote both phenomenon and goddess, with metaphorical and literal fingers at once.⁷⁷

While the compound’s second element has sparked much disagreement, scholars have generally interpreted the first following Aristotle’s comment that ῥοδοδάκτυλος means “red-fingered”.⁷⁸ (By this term, owing to Greek colour-terminology’s deficiency in expressions of value, Aristotle presumably denoted everything from bright crimson to pink). So interpreted, the epithet finds formal parallels in other colour-terms such as “saffron-robed” and “blue-haired”. This reading is superficially attractive, since dawn may be red or pink and, with the help of nail-polish, so may the fingers of elegant ladies.⁷⁹

Despite its superficial appeal and wide acceptance, Aristotle’s view cannot possibly be right. For one thing, most epithets of dawn in Greek verse refer to whiteness.⁸⁰

For another, Sappho uses βροδοδάκτυλος of the moon.⁸¹ Much ingenuity has been expended to show that moonlight, refracting on contact with ice-crystals in the cirrostratus, can turn red or pink.⁸² One might also suggest that Sappho has

accidentally or deliberately misused Homer's word. But this is special pleading to avoid the obvious inference from Sappho that Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος does not refer to redness or pinkness.

Third, Hesiod uses ῥοδόπηχες, "rosy-armed" of the Nereids;⁸³ yet insofar as they represent the literal sea, they ought to be green⁸⁴ and insofar as they are personified goddesses they should be white-armed, since females kept indoors and so were sheltered from the sun.⁸⁵

These problems have led some⁸⁶ to think the word refers to whiteness, but this has its own difficulty in the late attestation of white roses in Greek.⁸⁷

Given the problems caused by explaining the epithet in terms of colour, one may well look elsewhere for an interpretation. One point suggests that the ῥοδο- element of ῥοδοδάκτυλος cannot refer to colour at all. This is the fact that the rose is not mentioned where we might expect, for example in the catalogue of flowers that accompanies the deception of Zeus episode.⁸⁸ This led some ancient scholars to claim that Homer did not know the rose.⁸⁹ This inference from silence may be right in the sense that the epic poets' knowledge of the flower may have been indirect rather than first-hand, just as they apparently knew of lions only from heraldry, since Homer's lions never roar.⁹⁰ The *Iliad*, like Mycenaean Greek before it, speaks of attar of roses, which, like other bottled liquids, was easy to preserve and carry, and which is to this day an important Egyptian export.⁹¹ The epic poets may also have seen roses depicted on vases or other objets d'art. Yet their work betrays no hint that they had seen the flowers themselves. If Greek bards knew of roses only as pictorial motifs in imported art-work and as scents in perfumes, they would hardly have used them as a colour-metaphor.

There is one dissenter from the standard view of the ῥοδο- element of the compound. Jordan's (1873: 80-82) translation, "Dawn, who has roses in her fingers" has usually been ignored,⁹² undoubtedly since it supposes a type of word-formation unparalleled in Greek til 1956. In that year Heubeck (= 1984: 260-64) published his reinterpretation of Artemis' epithet, ἰοχέαιρα. This word's second element has been derived since antiquity from χεῖν, "to pour", and the word translated along the lines of "pouder forth of arrows"⁹³ but this has been doubted on formal grounds,⁹⁴ and the catachresis is perhaps strained.⁹⁵ Heubeck derives the second element instead from a hypothetical *χέ(σ)αρ, "hand",⁹⁶ and points, among other Sanskrit parallels,⁹⁷ to *īṣu-hasta*, "arrow-handed".⁹⁸ Ἰοχέαιρα is thus also understood as "arrow-handed", not because her hands resemble arrows, but in that she carries arrows in her hand.⁹⁹ This understanding of ἰοχέαιρα provides a formal parallel for Jordan's understanding of ῥοδοδάκτυλος.

Jordan's view of the epithet avoids the problems besetting the rival colour-interpretations. We need no longer fret over whether it denotes red, pink, or white roses. Nor need we even assume that the epic poets had ever seen a rose; they need only have known, for example from monochrome pictures, or from the perfume-trade, that roses were a kind of flower. Jordan's is therefore the most economical hypothesis we have: Dawn is "rosy-fingered", because she has roses in her fingers.

5.4.3 *Why does Dawn have Roses in her Fingers?*

Jordan's own answer, that the roses are clouds tinged red by the rising sun, is unhelpful: we have seen reason to doubt both that metaphor predominates over personification in the formula and that it refers to colour. It is therefore tempting to understand the phrase non-metaphorically. The gather ye rosebuds overtones of flower-gathering fit Dawn's sexual rapacity.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, two of her other epithets, χρυσόθρονος and εὐθρονος, usually translated "golden-throned" and "fair-throned", arguably come not from θρόνος, "throne", but from θρόνον, meaning either "flowers embroidered on cloth" or "herbs used as drugs and charms."¹⁰¹ A Scholiast on Theocritus says that Homer used the latter word to mean roses.¹⁰² Hence these epithets, too, associate Dawn with literal roses. Nevertheless, one looks in vain in Greek for any concrete sense in which Dawn holds roses in her hands.

Egypt, however, offers a suggestive instance. Egyptian literature gives the sun the epithet, "he of the many arms"¹⁰³ and in the reign of Amenhotep II the sun-disk is depicted with falcon's wings and a pair of human arms and hands (FIGURE 40). When Akhenaten brought about his religious reforms, enforcing a monotheistic worship of the sun, he drew on this tradition to create a new iconography for the god, portraying the sun-disk with long rays ending in hands that either extend symbols of life, permanence and good fortune to the nostrils of the royal couple, or open to grasp offerings from the offering table (FIGURE 37).¹⁰⁴ The offerings pharaoh makes to the god are bunches of water-lilies (FIGURE 41).¹⁰⁵ These seem to be chosen as the most fitting gift to the sun-disk, since they offer themselves to the sun, lurking beneath the water at night and rising to the surface at dawn, which indeed is the Egyptian iconography for sunrise, as Homer perhaps knew.¹⁰⁶

There are two similarities between this iconography and Homer's formula. First, the joining of literal disk and personified hands parallels the possibly polyvalent, simultaneously metaphoric and literal, sense of Dawn's fingers. Second, the sun-disk has flowers in an obvious sense and is thus comparable to Dawn "who has roses in her fingers", in Jordan's translation. When Sappho speaks of a rosy-fingered moon, she goes on to say paratactically that roses are blooming.¹⁰⁷ This has led several scholars to think that the moon here makes the flowers grow.¹⁰⁸ The understanding of ῥοδοδάκτυλος that I suggest thus accounts for Sappho's use of the epithet, which til now has been hard to explain.¹⁰⁹

The differences between the two images, and in particular that between dawn and the sun, are smaller than they first appear. Before Akhenaten's artistic revolution, the sun was portrayed as a falcon-headed man and so equated iconographically with Horus of the horizon, and as part of his theological revolution, Akhenaten moved his seat of government in the sixth regnal year north to a new site, modern Amarna, which he named "the horizon of the sun-disk". The word "horizon" in both of these names is shown by its hieroglyph (N27 in the sign-list) to refer to two mountains enclosing a valley over which the sun is rising.¹¹⁰ In other words, the sun-disk is associated with the sun especially at its rising. Conversely, ἠώς, "dawn" is often used generally for day or daylight, as we saw in section 4.4.2 above. Given the close relationship of Eos to Helios, any new

epithets were naturally attracted to her, since her mythology was originally much greater, as the prominence in the *Vedas* of the Indian dawn-goddess Uṣas shows.

It is possible that Homer's formula was coined under the influence of the Egyptian many-armed sun-disk in Mycenaean Greece over a century before Troy VIIa fell. The hypothetical passage between the two cultures would have been helped by the passage between artistic media, since no language-barrier would have kept Greek poets from appreciating and in large measure understanding the Egyptian iconography.¹¹¹ If any language was involved, it will have been Akkadian, language of trade of the Amarna period;¹¹² near eastern motifs in Homer and Hesiod have led West (1988: 171) to hypothesize that bilingual, Akkadian- and Greek-speaking poets from the Levant helped to form the Greek epic vocabulary – a point to which we will return later on.¹¹³ Burkert (2000: 1 = 2003: 17) notes too that such cultural transfer is easier between polytheistic societies than monotheistic ones.

It is no surprise that Akhenaten's iconography survived better outside his homeland than within it—this is, after all, the premise of Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*.¹¹⁴ Upon his death, the priestly caste of the old polytheistic cult that he had disenfranchised in favour of the sole god Aten rose up and undid all his political, theological and artistic reforms, eradicating his new iconography within the lands under their control.¹¹⁵

Perhaps the immediate point of entry of this iconography into the Mycenaean world was Rhodes. Mycenaean colonists established themselves there in the period LH II/IIIA, and it was, along with Millawanda and Apasa (Miletus and Ephesus), the easternmost outpost of Ahḫijawa rule according to Hittite texts.¹¹⁶ Rhodes was important in the Levant in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, and we have already seen in section 3.5 above a possible Hurrian connection to its folklore.¹¹⁷ The extent of its relations with Egypt are proved by the many Egyptian objects found on the island, among them a large scarab bearing the throne-name of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten's father, though this may be the archaizing work of a later period, a shattered ostrich-egg, and five bronze mirrors, which also may have come from Egypt.¹¹⁸ Rhodes may have figured among the isles in the midst of the sea that brought gifts to Akhenaten in his twelfth regnal year, six years into his schism, according to an inscription in the tomb of Huy at Amarna.¹¹⁹

Rhodes is virtually the only place in the Greek world where the sun received an important cult.¹²⁰ The ancient myth¹²¹ accompanying this cult linked sun and rose in a pun on the island's name:¹²² Rhodian coins bear an often rayed head of Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse (FIGURE 42). Moreover, this rose is thought of as hiding lotus-like beneath the water while the sun was absent,¹²³ and rising to the surface when he returned, whereupon he took her as a gift and on her begot seven sons.¹²⁴ The context for this story is the gods dividing the world by lot, a motif borrowed, as also by Homer, from Akkadian epic.¹²⁵ This myth may mark the point where Egyptian iconography became Homeric epithet.

5.5 *White-Armed Handmaids on the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus*

Perhaps we can push our story further back in time. When Menelaus arrives in

Elysium, he will not be alone, for Rhadamanthys is already there. Rhadamanthys is son of Zeus and Europa, and brother of Cretan king Minos; another tradition making him son of Hephaestus pins him down more closely, if “Hephaestus” is a corruption of “Phaistos”, name of the only major town on the island’s south shore (modern Hagios Ioannis).¹²⁶ Minos’ kingdom included Rhodes, as both literary and archaeological evidence attest.¹²⁷

Given Rhadamanthys’ presence in Homer’s Elysium, could that place reflect Minoan beliefs about the afterlife? As luck would have it, we have a window onto those beliefs. Early in the last century, archaeologists found at Hagia Triada, four kilometres from Phaistos a painted larnax from the fourteenth century of the former era (FIGURE 43). From the object’s use as a coffin they plausibly inferred that the paintings show a local view of the afterlife.

One side shows men sacrificing a bull. The other, arguably the sequel, shows women accompanied by a lyre pouring to the deceased, as Odysseus did for Teiresias (see section 3.6 above), a libation of red liquid—perhaps the blood of that very bull—and, facing the opposite way, men offering animals and a model boat at a building, in front of which stand a man and tree or large formal bouquet. Here we have our fourth oddity of colour, for while the men have bronze skin, as we would expect in a Mediterranean climate, the serving-women are white-armed.¹²⁸ This was a convention of Egyptian art, inherited certainly by Attic black-figure vase-painters, and arguably also by Greek poets from Homer on.¹²⁹ Sadly, a break in the ceramic has hidden the recipient’s feet, but that he is a head shorter than the other figures suggests that he was shown sinking into the ground like Patroclus’ ghost in the *Iliad*.¹³⁰ Perhaps the building is a tomb and the sinking man the ghost of its occupant. If so, the offerings in this scene speak to the notion that the dead will go to the other world by water like the Egyptian dead (FIGURE 5), and be lively enough once there to want food and drink. This sounds closer to Elysium than to the virtual annihilation of personhood at death, which is Homer’s standard line.

R. Paribeni (1908: 16-55) argued for an Egyptian provenance for the coffin’s iconography, comparing it with the opening of the mouth ceremony (FIGURE 39). His view is criticized by Jane Ellen Harrison (1927: 158-211), who sees in this sarcophagus, as in so much else, the passing of the Old Year and the coming of the New, and by the sarcophagus’ most careful student, Charlotte R. Long (1974: 78-79), who notes, among other differences, that the recipient on the sarcophagus is not a mummy. Even so, many scholars, most notably Nilsson (1950: 426-43) accept some form of Paribeni’s argument. Egyptian influence is a priori likely. Crete was a cultural melting-pot where first nations people (the Eteocretans) mingled with Greeks, Pelasgians and others.¹³¹ Phaistos and Hagia Triada are on the south coast, facing Egypt. Egyptian art influenced both form and content of Minoan art, as with the use of skin-colour mentioned above. Minoan artists worked at Avaris, as we saw in section 1.3 above. Compare, too, on the one hand the shared spiral-motif and on the other the Minoan artists’ fondness for papyrus and monkeys, neither native to Crete.¹³² The earliest Minoan script was hieroglyphic, which suggests Egyptian influence not only in the general principle, but also in individual character-forms;

for example the ankh (S34 in Gardiner's sign-list), which is exactly paralleled in Minoan hieroglyphs (39 in Evan's list).

To return to the larnax itself, Paribeni likens the figure sinking before the putative tomb to the mummy of the "justified" held up by Anubis, and notes that Egyptian tombs are regularly flanked with persea trees. He also sees the lyre-player as an Egyptianizing motif. To these observations J. D. S. Pendlebury (1939: 250) adds that "the frame doorway shown in this painting approximates far more to that of the Egyptian door with torus and cavetto than to the simple frame known elsewhere in Crete", and Stylianos Alexiou (1973: 120) notes that (as we saw in section 1.5 above) in Egypt real ships were placed in the tombs of kings, and model ships in those of ordinary mortals.

Crete, therefore, even before Rhodes may have been a stepping-stone for Egyptian ideas about the other world as they came to Mycenaean Greece.

5.6 Conclusion

So we see that the three Greek places most open to Egyptian influence were Argos, Rhodes and Crete. We can now localize, as the last chapter let us date, this effect. We still have to ask how it came about.

6. MECHANISM OF CONTACT

6.1 Introduction

Over the last five chapters we have found many Egyptian words that have seemingly entered Mycenaean epic. In this chapter we face two related questions: how did this happen, and why were the words in question not basic vocabulary as in the list compiled by Morris Swadesh (1971: 283) to measure diversification over time of cognate languages, nor were they likely dear to sailors and traders—terms for docking-fees and exchange-rates, for instance—, but rather words for the far deeper human issues of life and death? Let us start with Homer’s name for the gods’ drink, “nectar”.

6.2 Nectar/ Natron

The word’s etymology is much disputed. Five possibilities listed by Chantraine (1968-80: 3.741-42)¹ include taking it as a Proto-Indo-European negating /n/, which is the origin of Greek’s alpha privative, plus a root *κταρ, allegedly meaning “death”;² or as the first syllable of νέκυς, “corpse”, which may once have meant “death” (compare Latin *nex*) plus *ταρ, alleged to mean “carrying across”;³ and deriving it from Tocharian *nkāt*, “god”;⁴ from Hittite *nink-*, “to drink one’s fill”;⁵ or from the Semitic root attested in Hebrew *muqtar*, “incense”.⁶

The first two analyses reflect the essential point, which we will explore below, that nectar confers immortality and was originally neither drunk nor smelt, yet the first fails on the formal ground that the Proto-Indo-European /n/ prefix normally becomes nu in Greek only before vowels, while before consonants it ought to become alpha, while in the secondary privative prefix, νη-, which is occasionally used before consonants, the /e/ vowel is always long.⁷ The second founders on semantics, for to carry one across death is hardly the same as carrying one across a corpse. PIE scholars suppose that in its original sense νέκταρ “carried one across death” by conferring that imperishable fame, which we met in Chapter 2.2 above.⁸ The word, therefore, originally meant “song”, a meaning we indeed once

find in Pindar,⁹ whose readers, however, will more likely detect one of his bold metaphors than a semantic fossil. The third option is problematic, since Tocharian is closer to Celtic and Italic than to Greek, so that Tocharian-Greek cognates belong to the oldest stratum of Proto-Indo-European.¹⁰ A credible Tocharian cognate for νέκταρ, therefore, should have parallels in other Indo-European languages, but such are lacking. Suggestion four will not work either, because the idea of drinking nectar seems secondary. Finally, it tells against the fifth idea that there is already a native Greek word for “incense”, namely κνίση, hence, by the principle in section 1.2 above, no need for a loan-word. In short, as Chantraine puts it: no established etymology.¹¹

Nectar is usually said by Greek authors to be the gods’ drink, as ambrosia their food.¹² It has, however, a different use when dripped along with ambrosia into the nostrils of Patroclus’ corpse to prevent decay.¹³ The particular detail that it is into the nostrils that the preservative was dripped led Christian Gottlob Heyne to compare Egyptian mummification in which the brain was removed and drugs were inserted through the nose.¹⁴ Mycenaean Greeks were familiar with mummification, as we argued in Section 1.3 above, and other instances of gods preserving bodies using ambrosia occur in the *Iliad*.¹⁵ This possible Egyptian connection points to another origin for the word νέκταρ. When a word in Greek has two different meanings, one common and the other rare or, as here, unique, we should presume the rare use to be a trace of the original sense, for the bards would not coin radical new meanings in the face of a well established one, even though we might presume otherwise with modern lyric, which draws much of its power from pushing the semantic envelope. To coin a phrase, the harder meaning should be preferred.

The key ingredient in the mummification-process, mentioned twice by Herodotus in his brief account is sodium carbonate, which occurs naturally in impure form in many Egyptian lakes.¹⁶ The word for this in Herodotus and later authors is λίτρον, a deformation of an original νίτρον.¹⁷ This word is a borrowing from Egyptian *ntry*,¹⁸ which in turn comes from *ntr*, which as we saw in section 2.3 above means god.¹⁹ The Egyptians called sodium carbonate this as a kenning, the real word being *hsmn*,²⁰ because it is divine. Sodium carbonate is divine in light of the Egyptian and Greek concept of divinity as immortal and immutable in respect of at least two of its uses: in metallurgy and embalming. Metal-workers use a flux to slag the gangue from the ore in the smelting process.²¹ Egyptians used sodium carbonate to this end in smelting copper and other metals.²² Copper, like gold, was divine in its splendid permanence. It is the stuff of heaven and of the very house of Zeus.²³ Natron is also, as already noted, a key ingredient in mummification. This capacity to keep bodies from decay accounts, says Plutarch, for the traditional idea that salt is divine.²⁴

The pronunciation of *ntry* is not certainly known, because, as we noted at the very beginning of this book, Egyptian orthography did not include vowels, but as well as the Greek loan-word, νίτρον, there is the evidence of Akkadian *nit(i)ru* and Hittite *nitri*. The Egyptian *t* sound was originally pronounced /tj/, and blended increasingly during the Middle Kingdom with the /t/ sound,²⁵ though we would

expect this change to occur more slowly in a word such as *ntry*, given the tendency to conservatism in religious matters.²⁶ These facts suggest a possible original pronunciation of /nitjri/, changing gradually to /nitri/.²⁷

We know that the word *ntry* was borrowed into Greek during the archaic period when the word in Egyptian had its new pronunciation as νίτρον with a Greek ending added. I suggest that the same word had been borrowed much earlier, in Mycenaean times, when Greece was under constant, if distant, Egyptian influence that included knowledge of mummification-technology.²⁸ At that time, the word in Egyptian had its old pronunciation. It was borrowed, perhaps through a Semitic intermediary,²⁹ with the /kt/ representing the single original consonant *t*, just as the consonant cluster in δάκτυλος, “date-fruit” represents the single consonant /q/ in the Semitic original.³⁰ Full vocalization of the semivowel rho then made the word conform with Greek morphology; there was also perhaps a Greek re-etymologizing along the lines suggested in the first two etymologies mentioned above. The word’s meaning in both borrowings was originally the same, namely sodium carbonate, but mummification never really caught on in Greece. Good thing, too, for lovers of Homer, or we would not have the funeral pyres of *Iliad* Seven or the visit of Iris begging the randy Winds to light Patroclus’ corpse.

Ignoring the use to which the Egyptians put natron, the Greeks seem to have found another, very surprising, one. Hugh Johnson 1983: 504 writes that “so long as it lives—and wine is a living substance with a remarkable life span—it is the battleground of bacteria, the playground of pigments, tannins, enzymes. . . a host of jostling wildlife preying on each other.” The cork, invented in the seventeenth century of our era, made airtight storage of wine possible, and put an end to the danger of vinegarization. Without this miraculous device,³¹ Greeks either had to consume their wine at the first opening of the casks, whence the enthusiasm surrounding the Anthesteria at Athens, or add preservatives to it. As we have already mentioned, the additive of choice was salt.³² We find recipes for salting wine in Cato and Columella.³³ Wine treated with natron or other salts did not readily turn to vinegar, and so seemed to be immortal. No wonder, then, that νέκταρ quickly became associated with ambrosia, the divine substance native to Greek language and thought.³⁴ While occasionally retaining its original, narrower sense,³⁵ the word began to occupy the same semantic field as ambrosia so that when the Greeks resumed contact with Egypt in the archaic period they felt the need to borrow *ntry* again.

If this suggestion is correct, we can now say why so many Homeric words and ideas apparently borrowed from Egypt have to do with the afterlife rather than docks and exchanges: for they were acquired in the context of trade in natron, crucial ingredient in the very process of mummification that prepared Egyptians for the next life.

6.3 Crete to Rhodes to Argos

By what route could fragments of Egyptian eschatology have made their way to Greece? We can answer this in some detail. Ancient sea-faring was a scary

business,³⁶ and sailors naturally followed the coast, crossing the open sea by island-hopping, as one walks over a pond on stepping stones, and from this habit of circumnavigating the Mediterranean, under the eighteenth dynasty the basin of the eastern Mediterranean, the north-western world of the Egyptians, going via Syria to Asia Minor and Crete and so back by Libya, was known as the Great Ring.³⁷

The first stepping-stone in the passage from Egypt to Greece was Crete. There is a clear Cretan background to the Greek doctrine of the afterlife, revealed for example in Rhadamanthys' role in the Greek Elysium, which we considered in the last chapter.³⁸ Egyptians called Crete *Kftyw*, just as Assyrians called it *Kaptara*.³⁹ The connection of Crete and Egypt is shown by the role of Keftiu among the islands in the heart of the great green, that is the Mediterranean, that sent tribute to the vizier Rekhmere' during the reign of Tuthmosis III.⁴⁰ The role of Keftiu in transferring Egyptian goods to Greece has been much discussed.⁴¹

The next point of contact between Egyptians and Mycenaeans ought to have been the island of Rhodes, where Mycenaean colonists had established themselves in the period LH II/IIIA, as we saw in section 5.4.3 above. Greek myth reflects this route of contact by stating that it was via Rhodes that Danaus came to Argos; see section 5.3 above. Rhodes is virtually the only place in the Greek world where the sun received an important cult.⁴² One is tempted to attribute this to Egyptian influence, for sun-worship was prominent in Egypt at all periods, especially during Akhenaten's reign. The temptation is stronger if one accepts the argument of the last chapter that Homer's phrase "rosy-fingered Dawn" was inspired by Akhenaten's rayed sun-disk. As for beliefs about the afterlife, Vermeule (1979: 77) has mooted a possible connection between the name of Ialysus, with its many tombs on the outlying hills of Moschou Vounara and Makria Vounara,⁴³ and the Field of Reeds of the Egyptian afterlife. The second surviving reference to the isles of the blest in Greek is in Pindar's *Second Olympian Ode*, composed for Theron of Acragas in 476. There is a strong Rhodian connection with this poem. Acragas was a Rhodian colony, and one of Theron's ancestors, Telemachus, was among the original colonists.⁴⁴ Moreover, Nancy Demand (1975: 349-50) has pointed out that Pindar's ode peoples the ruling hierarchy of the afterlife with a family with peculiar relevance to the Acragantine/Rhodian cult of Zeus Atabyrius. Equally suggestively, the other Greek term for the isles of the blest, "Elysium", finds its second occurrence in extant literature in Apollonius.⁴⁵ While we cannot say for certain whether Apollonius' association with Rhodes precedes or follows the composition of his poem, after a review of the conflicting ancient testimony, Mary Lefkowitz (1981: 130-31) offers the compelling thought that Apollonius was called the "Rhodian", because he came from Rhodes to begin with, as an émigré to Alexandria, like Callimachus of Cyrene. If so, his poem, like Pindar's *Second Olympian*, may have borne a distinctive Rhodian stamp.

Along this island-hopping route travelled merchants carrying olive oil and wine down from the north and bringing back Egyptian goods in return. These were not just trinkets such as ostrich eggs or mirrors, but more utilitarian items. The apparent borrowing of the Egyptian word *ntry* as "nectar", discussed in the last section,

suggests that sodium carbonate from the dry lakes of Egypt was brought north, along with knowledge of the mummification for which Egyptians used it. In handing on this information about how to treat the dead, traders naturally passed on some of the rich Egyptian lore about the afterlife.

6.4 Knowledge of the Bards

A rhapsode who spends a night here will come back a week later, at most two weeks later, on his way home from a wedding, or a funeral, or from a murder he has gone to commit.

—Ismail Kadare 1997: 84.

Could a Mycenaean really have known such lore? Bernal famously holds Egyptian influence on Bronze Age Greece to have been early and deep, and I have been arguing throughout this book that Homer supports his view. Among Mycenaeans, what would those singing the songs that became the *Aethiopis*, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have known?

To believe Homer, a stranger arriving in town would, like Odysseus on Scheria, soon go to the palace. There, not in the streets or stalls of the market among his fellow itinerant craftsmen,⁴⁶ would he find a bard, who like later poets enjoyed royal patronage, and who was the queen's protector.⁴⁷ (The bard's intimacy with her suggests that he was a eunuch, or, to use a musical term, castrato.⁴⁸ If so, he resembled the spados who held great influence as harem-officials in near Eastern courts. Denys Page [1972] objects that Homer's bards are blind,⁴⁹ and so useless as chaperons, but they may have impaired their otherwise perfect sight while singing to bring themselves closer to the gods—a practice found for instance in Egypt, where written texts give harpists the standing epithet "blind", while some paintings and figurines show them blindfolded.)⁵⁰ Whatever his medical history, and allowing for aggrandisement in his self-portrait in the *Odyssey*, the bard was no mere entertainer, for he prophesied, like the first epic poet, Olen,⁵¹ he was remembrancer of the Muses, who, in the formulation we used in section 3.5 above, were daughters of Memory who love to remember, and the bards' successor Simonides was a memory-wizard, and he advertised Achaean military might against the treacherous dandies of Troy, and the upper class against every strident Thersites of the unwashed rabble, and, in short, he was a cabinet minister or vizier. The bard's high standing is clear when Achilles, who would not dream of sullyng his hands with banausic chores, whiles away the hours of his strike, bard-like, singing the famous deeds of men.⁵² Even if we discount the picture of society that we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as anachronistic,⁵³ and imagine bards typically living far from the palace, we must still admit that they met many foreigners. When the Hittite Šuppiluliumaš I exiled his wife to the court of Aḥḥijawa,⁵⁴ when Philistine ambassadors came before the king of Danuna to coordinate the Sea Peoples' raids against Syria and Palestine,⁵⁵ or when traders, or rather pirates,⁵⁶ came with Egyptian ivory, ostrich-eggs, scarabs

and mirrors, who knows what perishable goods, and above all news, an interpreter was needed.⁵⁷ The only one in Mycenae certainly fluent in Akkadian is the bard, for Greek epic borrows from Akkadian such motifs as the link of a magic boat to doves (see section 2.3 above), the gods' division by lot of the universe (see section 5.4 above), the herdsman attacked by his own dogs, an ox-trotter hurled in insult, and words such as "wide-wayed" to describe cities.⁵⁸ In Bronze Age Greece, then, those most aware of foreign affairs were the bards.

6.5 *Homeric Silence*

As we noted in section 1.3 above, Homer knows of Egyptian Thebes as a city from which visitors could bring back rich presents and of the river Egypt, the prototypical "river flying in the sky", which men visited for trade or piracy. Nevertheless, these references to Egypt are few and far between, and one might be justified in asking: if Egypt influenced Homeric Greek as much as I have been claiming throughout this book, why is it so unobvious that scholars can deny the fact outright or even ignore it altogether?

We must remember that there are some things Homer prefers not to discuss.⁵⁹ he offers, for example, scant mention of Dionysus, so that, were that god's name not attested on the Linear B tablets,⁶⁰ we might think him a newcomer to the pantheon. William K. C. Guthrie (1950: 160) compellingly suggests that Homer has an aristocrat's aversion to the plebeian god. Similarly, Homer seems oblivious to the concept of miasma that so exercised the tragedians, but the leading authority on the matter, Robert Parker (1983: 69) finds pollution-symbolism already linked to death in Homer. Perhaps again it is not ignorance of, but aversion to a concept that explains Homer's silence. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia, Achilles' heel, the theft of the Palladium and the art of prophecy all go unmentioned.

Likewise, it is noteworthy that in describing an intercontinental war Homer is most sparing in referring to non-Greek-speaking peoples, especially if Trojan is not, as the discovery of grey Minyan ware at both Troy and Mycenae rather suggests it is, a form of Greek, and Homer may even be racist, applying to Phoenicians the adjective τρώκται, "gnawers", which may suggest thieving vermin, mice, and so on.⁶¹ We saw in section 3.5 above that this may also account for his apparent suppression of the image of the tablet of the heart. This jingoism is not surprising under the circumstances. The Aeolic and Ionic bards, driven into ignominious exile in Asia Minor by marauding Dorian hordes, dreamed of the lost gold of Mycenae and consoled themselves by recounting their last victory, that over Priam's city. Their lacerated honour needed all the praise it could shower over their ancestors; they had little to spare for the achievements of outlanders and preferred to people the non-Greek world with prurient witches, cannibalistic freaks, and sulking, lonely gods than highly cultured foreigners. Moreover, if the fusion of several dialects in the artificial poets' tongue of epic⁶² produced a panhellenic sense of inclusion, perhaps a certain xenophobic exclusivity was the dark counterpart to this.

Beneath the version of events given the imprimatur of orthodoxy by inclusion in the epics, other traditions lurked ready to spring into the light of history in their

own good time. Homer's poetry is traditional, of course: the simplicity and scope of the formulaic system is proof of that.⁶³ But from Antoine Meillet's (1923) discovery that the metres of Greek lyric and of the lyric hymns of the *Rigveda* are cognate⁶⁴ it follows that the dactylic hexametre of Greek epic arose out of the metres of lyric poetry, specifically the Pherecratean, rather than vice versa. From this in turn it follows that, though no Greek lyric earlier than Archilochus is extant, the tradition of lyric poetry is substantially older than that of epic, as for example with the word μάκαρ(ς) or Orion's name, the lyric forms of which we saw in sections 3.2 and 4.2 above are older than the epic ones. It is also at several points incompatible with it. We see this in the frequent misuse of Homeric formulae by the lyric poets, such as Solon's application of the epithet "black" to the personified Earth and Sappho's talk of the "rosy-fingered" moon, which we considered in sections 5.3 and 5.4.3. We see it too in disagreements over the details of various myths such as Homer's claim that Tantalus is punished in Hades, versus the lyric poets, who have him punished on Olympus or Homer placing Achilles in Hades, versus the lyric poets, who put him in the isles of the blessed.⁶⁵ Moreover, Pindar, for one, explicitly rejects Homer's authority, and Plato says that Stesichorus, in writing his palinode, realised, as Homer had failed to do, his mistake in blaming the Trojan War on Helen.⁶⁶ Being older and less homogeneous than epic, the lyric tradition is less likely to have taken sides on any issue, and thus on a point of controversy is the more worthy to be believed.

So it is that the reports of Egyptian influence on Greece that we meet with in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus, in the second book of Herodotus, at various times in Plato, and elsewhere may have more weight than an argument from silence based on Homer. These are not, indeed, the best evidence for the Bronze Age; but they are, alas, all we have.

6.6 Possible Explanations for Egyptian Echoes in Homer

The simplest would be pure chance. Many aspects of the *Odyssey's* Elysium are echoed piecemeal in diverse Indo-European sources: we meet the plain in Yama's otherworldly cow-pasture and the meadow mentioned in Hittite death-rituals (see section 2.1 above).⁶⁷ The magic Phaeacianesque ferry-men we find in Welcker's men of Brittonia, noted in section 2.3 above, and in Hárbard/ Óðinn's ferrying in the *Lay of Harbard*.⁶⁸ From these scattered sources we might conclude that Indo-Europeans thought the afterlife polarized between a dank and fusty Hell and a paradisiacal meadow reached by night on ships of supernatural speed with a special crew who row rather than sail, and that the *Odyssey's* Elysium is a vestige of that belief. There are problems, such as that the ferry-men imply that Indo-Europeans, like Hesiod, thought paradise an island, while the *Odyssey* speaks rather of a plain.⁶⁹ More tellingly, though, we can recover nothing in Indo-European lore that remotely equals the clear parallel between Egyptian Field of Reeds, those "true of voice", the commonest name for its inhabitants, who indeed have a voice if properly fed, and the "lord of the West", that is Osiris, its divine judge on the one hand and Greek Elysian plain, blessed ones including the loquacious Teiresias and

Rhadamanthys on the other.

If Greeks indeed borrowed Elysium from Egypt, the obvious date at which this occurred would be the orientalizing seventh century, when they adopted the alphabet and fixed the *Odyssey* in its final form, for Homer knew of Thebes and the Nile (see section 1.3 above), which Diodorus of Sicily takes as proof of autopsy.⁷⁰

There are, however, two reasons to think that Elysium in Greek long predates this period. First is that the idea entered epic language deeply enough to produce its own semic system, for as I have suggested in Chapter Two above it figures as a sky-river, sails like wings, Odysseus' eternity-spurning glance, and special status for Menelaus, as well as in the Elysian plain itself. Second is that the bards have highly adapted this last term, borrowing one word of the original *šḥt i3r.w*, translating the other and then combining the two. This process must have taken much time. One might think that a longstanding term would have wider currency than Elysium, a hapax in the *Odyssey*, which does not recur til Apollonius,⁷¹ yet there is a narrative reason for its rarity since Menelaus is its only denizen linked to the War, Peleus and Cadmus never having gone to Troy. There is also an extrinsic reason, as we shall see.

There is one much earlier period at which Egyptian influence on Greek is possible, namely the thirteenth century, the era both of the fall of Troy VIIa that gave the bards their central theme and of the Egyptian cultural zenith of the eighteenth dynasty. Archaeology proves pan-Aegean contact at the time, as we saw in section 1.3 above, and philologists now grant that trade in goods implies exchange of vocabulary and myth.⁷² This is most true when an artefact involves certain ideas. For example, sodium carbonate, which Egyptians arguably shipped to Greece with baking soda, salt, and alum to aid in saving fish,⁷³ entailed the embalming for which they also used it, which introduced the rich religious beliefs whose ritual expression it was.⁷⁴ Moreover, some Bronze Age words survive in the *Odyssey*,⁷⁵ though often just vestiges of obsolete things that the bards themselves had forgotten—as we still issue “curfews,” from the French order to cover one’s fire, though we no longer have hearths to put out—, which hardly rescue its portrait of that time from errors, of which the list is long.⁷⁶

Formular in nature, the *Odyssey* was an oral poem⁷⁷ in constant flux til written down. This was after Greeks began to write, of course⁷⁸—probably not long, though clues are vexingly scant—,⁷⁹ for comparison with other oral cultures and the witness of Greek vase-painting tell against the alternate, anti-evolutionary view, urged by Kirk (1985: 1.1-16), that oral bards reproduced a monumental text for centuries before anyone transcribed it. This state of flux was cleansing, as Ian Morris (1986: 87) has stressed, though this did not apply to formulae fixed in the epic word-horde like διιπετέος ποταμοῖο, which on a strict Parryist (1971: 128) reading means no more than “the only kind of river that there was in the heroic age”. A Greek audience in the centuries before 650 had scant interest in Egyptian eschatology. Still, they cared about Elysium as the charter for a world they themselves hoped to enter after death. No mere pipe-dream, this hope they enacted through initiation into mysteries like Demeter’s at Eleusis, whose Egyptian component is the subject of the

next chapter. The mysteries promised a blessed existence after death, arguably in Elysium, and their special drink, if narcotic, recalls the Egyptian drug with which Helen lifts the cares of her guests.⁸⁰

Tellingly, this cult, though begun in Erechtheus' time, peaked round 650, with the Telesterion and peribolos being greatly expanded under Peisistratus, who had a tyrant's fondness for mystery-cults, in a place whose name, we noted in section 1.6.5 above, recalls Elysium.⁸¹ This is relevant to Proteus' prophecy for whoever, like Cook (1995), thinks that the *Odyssey* reached its final form in Athens as a celebration of Athena's triumph over Poseidon and of democratic rhetoric over aristocratic rule by force, for in their heyday it was Athens' archon basileus who oversaw the Mysteries.⁸² (If Elysium recalls them, the less said of it the better as Aeschylus, Alcibiades and Diagoras of Melos could aver,⁸³ which may be another reason why few authors use the word.) The Ino-episode contains no loan-words, but its mythemes too recall the Demeter-cult: the girl who paradoxically survives drowning, the goddess with the vinous name of (O)ino, and a ban on looking back at immortality all recall the girl who flees Hades, the grain-goddess Doso, and the order that initiates keep their eyes shut til they beheld the ecstatic vision of the ἐποπτεία, or "beholding".⁸⁴

6.7 Conclusion

To sum up the book so far, we have seen that the river, ship, and ferry-man whom dead Egyptians met on their way to the Reed-Field left their mark on the *Odyssey*, that Menelaus comes thither thanks to Zeus' anxiety over a specifically matrilineal succession better attested in Tuthmosid Egypt than in Greece itself, and that the voice of the dead, the mourner's voice, and offerings of food are linked in Homer as in Egypt. We have also seen that there is a reason, quite unlike those that let bards adopt these ideas, that kept them alive into the seventh century. These facts make it yet more likely that the nub of Egyptian funerary myth, the Field of Reeds, appears therein as Elysium.

7. EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND TO THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

7.1 *The Coming of Barley to Greece*

We argued in section 5.3 above that Danaus' story tells in mythic code how Egyptians brought irrigation to Argos. Irrigation is no end in itself, though, but a means and necessary precursor to agriculture. Greeks likewise told how they came to grow grain, by which they meant in the first instance barley. Barley seeds or groats (οὐλαί) were the first grain, which is why one threw them onto victims prior to sacrifice.¹ Before barley Greeks were hunter-gatherers—Classical accounts emphasize acorn-eating²—and afterward they said ἄλις δρυός, “enough of the oak!” and became σῖτον ἔδοντες or ἀλφεισταί, “men who eat grain/ barley-flour eaters”.³

The myth I mean is Demeter coming to Eleusis in quest of her abducted daughter, Kore. Demeter is a god of cereal-culture—Ceres is after all her Latin name—whether the *de* in “Mother (μήτηρ) of *de*” stands for γῆ or γαῖα, “earth” or is Cretan for barley.⁴ We see this in her epithets, which include: Achaia (“Reaper”),⁵ Anesidora (“She who sends up gifts”), Chloe (“Green Shoot”), Halois (“Goddess of the Ploughed Field”), Hamallophoros (“Bearing Sheaves of Grain”), Hymalis (“Abundance”), Ioulo (“Goddess of Grain Sheaves”), Karpophoros (“She who brings forth fruit”), Megalartos and Megalomazos (“Goddess of Wheat [or Barley] Bread”), Ompnia (“Nourisher with Grain”), Polysoros (“Rich in Piles of Grain”), Sito (“Grain”), and Soritis (“Giver of Heaps of Grain”).⁶ Demeter's special drink, the κυκεών, whose foremost ingredient is barley-flour (ἄλφι[τα]), points in the same direction.⁷ The Rharian plain at Eleusis was the first to be sown and bear crops, constituents of the sacred πέλανος-cake.⁸

Demeter's tale emphasizes her arrival at Eleusis with two gifts to be spread by her apostle Triptolemus among mankind: not bread and circuses, but the headier mix of agriculture and mysteries.⁹ At first sight the myth looks like a cosmic weather-report describing the eternal vegetative cycle of sowing and reaping, never

mind that it inverts the relevant seasons with Kore returning to earth in Spring, while in Greece grain sprouts in Autumn.¹⁰ It is, however, fixed in place at Eleusis in Attica, though the rape itself took place in Sicily, and in time during the reign of Celeus, son of Eleusinus. This is in mythic terms a precise date: Celeus was a contemporary of Eumolpus, who fought a war against Erechtheus of Athens.¹¹ The Parian Chronicle dates the coming of Danaus and hence irrigation in Argos to 1511 and that of Demeter and hence agriculture at Eleusis almost a century later in 1408.¹² Demeter came most recently from Asia Minor, where she had inadvertently eaten Pelops' shoulder at a banquet on the Lydian Mt. Sipylus.¹³ Those who accept Herodotus' identification of Demeter with Isis will put her ultimate point of origin in Egypt, as Clement of Alexandria does.¹⁴ Most modern scholars reject Herodotus' and Clement's claim as a typical piece of late syncretism.¹⁵ Not only, however, does the general shape of the Demeter- and Isis-myths—rape of a loved one, world-wide search, loss of a body-part whether Pelops' shoulder or Osiris' penis—argue for an original connection between the two tales, but the immortality-through-fire motif connected in Demeter's story with Demophon and in that of Isis with Malcander's son, which we discussed in section 1.6.5 above, points strongly to the priority of the Isis-story. This detail, by the way, further emphasizes the myth's agricultural nature, for one should put into the fire not babies but loaves of bread, so they might bake.¹⁶ Moreover, the name of Persephone is intractable, and ancients thought it Egyptian in origin.¹⁷

7.2 Demeter, Persephone and Iambe/ Isis, Osiris and Hathor

In 1895 Paul-François Foucart published in the *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* the only modern defence of Herodotus' claim that the mysteries came from Egypt. This view he later presented at length as Part One (pages 1-140) of his 1914 book, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*. Ninety years on this book is still studied; Éditions Pardès of Puiseaux reprinted it as recently as 1999. Foucart had the misfortune to base his case largely on a burial within the sacred enclosure of Demeter of a woman outfitted with Isian paraphernalia of Egyptian provenance—a scarab, faience beads and a clay rattle, stand-in, perhaps, for the ritual sistrum (σῖστῆρ or σείστρον) used in the cult of Isis. Those who made the find dated it to the eighteenth dynasty, but it is in fact Geometric.¹⁸ Picard (1927: 321-30) pointing out this error, eagerly threw out the baby of Foucart's thesis with the archaeological bath. Picard stresses how the Greek story of a mother distraught over her daughter's abduction differs from the Egyptian adventures of a grieving widow, which for him “still smell of the harem”.¹⁹

Indeed Picard is right to note how much the Greek and Egyptian tales differ, yet they do share many features, plucked apart and rearranged, as, within Greek itself (we noted in section 3.5 above), the very different stories of Bellerophon and Hippolytus share the unlikely concatenation of illicit advances spurned, fatal letter and fall from a horse. The stories are indeed quite different, but the likeness of the “mythemes” that make them up points to an original, genetic link between them.

There is more. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* tells how the serving-girl Iambe

made Demeter laugh when distraught with the recent discovery that Kore was in Hades', so letting her carry on.²⁰ This is important, for laughter is otherwise sorely lacking in the story; when Demeter came to Eleusis, she sat down on probably the oldest object known to the cult, the Mirthless Rock.²¹ The poet is coy about Iambe's jest, but the Orphic hymns, not subject to epic decorum, tell us that the girl—whom they call Baubo—cheered the god by exposing herself. The name Βαυβών supports this story. It seems to mimic barking, since dogs have no shame, and further Herodas gives the word the sense of "dildo".²² The story of Iambe/Baubo is the causal explanation for the gross abuse hurled from the causeway above the River Cephissus, perhaps in the iambic metre that bears her name, by a priest with veiled head during the annual parade of initiates from Athens to Eleusis that gave the town a folk-etymology in the word ἐλευσόμεθα, "we will come".²³ This part of Demeter's story seems to have an Egyptian precursor. In the *Dispute of Horus and Seth* we read that one of the arbitrators, a form of the sun-god named Pre-Harakhti quarrelled with his fellow judges and went into a funk, so the trial had to be suspended. The tale goes on:

The great god [Pre-Harakhti] spent a day lying on his back in his pavilion, his heart very sore and he was alone. After a long while, Hathor, Lady of the southern sycamore, came and stood before her father, the All-Lord. She uncovered her nakedness before him; thereupon the great god laughed at her. He got up and sat with the great Ennead; and he said to Horus and Seth: "Speak for yourselves!" [and so the trial continued].²⁴

This story differs from that of Iambe/Baubo in the sexual arousal of Pre-Harakhti detected by Lana Troy (1986: 92) and Michèle Broze (1996: 43–44), which has no echo in the Greek tale. Still, the overriding similarity of the stories has drawn comment from H. Vorwahl (1933: 396), Karl Meuli (1943: 790 n. 3 = 1975: 1.415 n. 3) and Nicholas Richardson (1974: 216). One meets in Egypt also ritual ἀνασύρειν ("flashing" or "mooning") of participants in divine festivals like the aischrologia in the Eleusinian parade.²⁵

7.3 Barley Embalmed

An attractively economic take on these data is that Egyptians taught Greeks to grow barley, which they had before Greeks.²⁶ We noted in section 2.5 above the pan-Aegean vocabulary for wine, which argues for a similar diffusion into Greece of viticulture from elsewhere—whether Anatolia or the Levant.²⁷ With the spread of grain came the idea, familiar in the West from the words of St. Paul, that the corpse buried in dishonour is raised in glory like a sown seed bearing fruit in due season.²⁸ While no Greek author uses the sprouting seed to symbolize the resurrected body, this image is implicit in the connection—on which many ancient authors insist—of Demeter's two gifts, agriculture and a religious cult that promised a blessed afterlife.²⁹

Moreover, two ideas seemingly native to Greek thought may have prepared

them to accept the ploughing- or sowing-analogy of the afterlife. The first is that mothers are earth, who bear children like new sprouts. This sounds vulgar on Creon's lips when he asks of his son whether, now he is walling his bride-to-be, Antigone up in a catacomb-niche, there are not other fields for him to plough, but we find the metaphor in the Athenian betrothal-formula ("I entrust for the ploughing of legitimate children my daughter indeed, young man, to you"), which answers to our plummiest liturgical language ("to have and to hold from this day forward").³⁰

The second is the complementary idea that Earth is a mother. We see this in various myths, such as that of Pyrrha and Deucalion. Or take, for example, this story from Herodotus. The night before the battle of Marathon, the Persians' guide, Hippias dreamed he had sex with his mother.³¹ Such dreams were common, as Jocasta assures Oedipus in Sophocles' play, and their meaning was clear according to Artemidorus: the mother is the earth, the sex-act a triumphant homecoming.³² It is in this culturally sanctioned way that Hippias saw his dream. The next day, however, he sneezed and coughed out a tooth, which was lost mid the sands of the sea-shore. This, he realized, fulfilled his dream; he and his companions were not meant to conquer Greece after all.

It is far from obvious, though, how losing a tooth fulfills an incest-dream. Campbell Bonner (1906) gives two solutions to this problem: first, that to dream of a tooth falling out portends misfortune and second, that the loss of any body-part is viewed with uneasiness, for witches can work harm with such things.³³ But, as Bonner himself notes, Hippias lost his tooth in real life, not in a dream, and Hippias sees his sneeze not merely as a source of unease, but specifically as fulfilling his dream.

Justin Glenn (1972) rejects these remarks and follows a suggestion of Peter Frisch (1968: 25-27) that the tooth in Hippias' dream is a phallic symbol.³⁴ This has more to recommend it than Bonner's idea, but the only evidence Glenn draws on to support his case comes from psychoanalysis,³⁵ a worthy discipline, but one far removed from the world of Hippias.

Glenn gives no ancient parallels for the equation of tooth and phallus for the excellent reason that there are none. A slight adjustment to his interpretation will resolve this problem, however, for it is not to the phallus that ancients seem to have likened the tooth, but to the seed or semen. This equation has been remarked before,³⁶ but no one, to my knowledge, has brought it to bear on Hippias' story.

The equation of teeth and seeds is a kind of visual pun.³⁷ It is perhaps implied in the frequent likening of the head to a flower or plant, and is explicit in the Theban myth of the Spartoi or Sown men and its parallel in the Argonautic saga.³⁸ Growing in the jaw (γένυς) like the beard (γενειάς), the teeth mark the life-cycle of one's reproductive (γεννητικός) maturity.³⁹ Teething marks the end of infancy, and the acquisition, beginning at age seven, of permanent teeth, which "tell the age", marks the onset of adulthood.⁴⁰ To have teeth is to have physical power generally and fertility specifically, while toothlessness shows lack of virility, a point made by the three Graiae, who have but a single eye and tooth between them.⁴¹

In light of these beliefs one grasps how Hippias saw his hapless sneeze as

fulfilling his dream: in perfect conformity with the omen, he had ejaculated his metaphoric seed into the sands of Mother Earth.

The connection of sprouting seed and corpse resurrected or reborn to eternal bliss is anticipated in, if it does not originate from Egypt. The *Coffin Texts* have a spell entitled "Becoming Barley of Lower Egypt," which reads in part:⁴²

N is this bush of life which went forth from Osiris to grow on the ribs of Osiris and to nourish the plebs, which makes the gods divine and spiritualizes the spirits, which provisions the owners of doubles and the owners of property, which makes cakes for the spirits, which causes the living to grow, and which makes firm the bodies of the living. . . . N lives as Osiris.

Moreover, seven examples survive to us from the eighteenth dynasty of Osiris-beds, trays containing mummiform layers of earth in the shape of Osiris sown with barley that has germinated up to about three inches before being placed in the tomb. These early "chia pets" clearly symbolize the resurrection of the mummy in the other world (FIGURE 44).⁴³ They were replaced in the New Kingdom by "corn mummies"—mummified Osiriform bundles of soil and seeds.⁴⁴

The relevance of this to the mysteries is clear. Egyptians called the place to which the blessed dead go *sh̥t i3r.w*, probable origin, we have seen, of Greek Elysium. As we saw in section 1.6.5 above Burkert has noted how much the name "Elysium" resembles "Eleusis" and Guthrie (1935: 155-56) long ago mooted that the blessed afterlife promised to initiates at Eleusis was specifically entry into Elysium.⁴⁵

We may even be able to trace the passage of Osiris-beds into Greece through the by now familiar conduit of Semitic traders. Adonis is a god who, like Osiris, dies and rises again. He was originally Semitic; indeed *ʾdōnāy* means "my Lord" in Hebrew, and his worship reached Greece at least by the archaic period, for Sappho tells us that, when he died, Aphrodite placed his body on a bed of lettuce.⁴⁶ In his honour women planted on rooftops "Adonis gardens" of lettuce or other ephemeral plants, whose rapid sprouting and wilting symbolically reenacted the passion of the god.⁴⁷

7.4 Conclusion

As an argument for believing in resurrection, the seed-analogy is worse than useless. But for one who already believes in a blessed afterlife and wants to know how the persons we will be then are to resemble who we are now this analogy gives a powerful answer: they will be to us as the grown plant to the sown seed. In fact, the initiates at Eleusis did believe without need of this or any other argument that a blessed life awaited them after death. To the reason for their belief let us now turn.

8. NEAR DEATH EXPERIENCE AND THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES: RESUSCITATION AS PSYCHOTHERAPY

8.1 Introduction

In section 6.6 we noted that the positive view of the afterlife first mooted in the *Odyssey* becomes canonical in the Eleusinian mysteries, which transformed the lives of countless normally hard-headed people for nearly a thousand years, yet without divine revelation in the sense known to Judaism, Christianity or Islam. How could this be?

To answer this, we turn from an historical approach to one based on modern comparative methods. These two ways of thinking may seem to have in common only that both are suggestive and tantalizing rather than unequivocally demonstrable, and some may see this chapter as an abrupt and unplanned swerve in reasoning, or worse an irrelevant appendix. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I have elsewhere (1996: 12) argued that reading literature is a twofold act, with a scholarly moment of recognizing difference and otherness in the particular accidental features of a poem's cultural context, and a phenomenological moment when one sees sameness in the context of that difference and thus a ground of shared experience between the poem and ourselves. If this twofold process is important in studying literature, it is downright essential if we are to grasp the religious beliefs of someone far removed from ourselves in time and place. We will never truly understand another's beliefs if we study them in isolation and never seek to know what inspired them, and we can never learn what inspired them, unless we meld our horizon of understanding with theirs. It is this hermeneutic task that this chapter sets itself: no unplanned heuristic course-correction or irrelevant detour, then, but the natural end of the present study, adding to the questions already asked of what, when, where and how the vital query: why? If it seems foolhardy to attack this on our woefully incomplete knowledge, it is cowardly to avoid it, so crucial is

it to the subject of this book. It is crucial, for to say that Homer got his concept of Elysium from Egypt as we have been doing is to give it a merely geographic point of origin. Such a concept must also, and more importantly, have a psychological source as well. This final chapter suggests what that source might be.

The myth of Demeter to which we devoted the last chapter had its reflex in cult. Athenians used to make a once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage to Eleusis, and there be initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore by two special clans of priests, the Hierophants and Dadouchoi. Initiates were forbidden to reveal what they did there (hence the term “mysteries”) and no reliable accounts survive, but many ancient passages, which we will discuss in detail below, make sense only on the assumption that the worshippers came home rejecting the standard view, enshrined in Homer’s poems, that death is a virtual annihilation of one’s personhood, and were convinced instead that when they died they would have a blessed afterlife of joy and love in a realm of beautiful light.¹ This effect of the mysteries is so remarkable in the context of the general Greek pessimism about death, that one can only think it no accidental by-product, but indeed their central aim and purpose.

Over many years of teaching Greek religion, I have often told students that, as the church father Origen reported,² this remarkable transformation occurred when the Hierophant showed the initiates an ear of cut grain. Over many years my students have had no qualms in telling me that this is absurd. It was with some interest, then, that I greeted R. Gordon Wasson’s (1978, 1986: 33) view that the special drink of barley and pennyroyal that the Hierophant gave his charges,³ was laced with ergot of rye, better known as LSD, thus ensuring that they indeed had a mind-altering experience. Much the same is C. A. P. Ruck and Danny Staples’ (1994: 26, 323) idea that the fly-agaric mushroom imparted the presumed hallucinogenic effect, Mycenae itself taking its name from μύκης, “mushroom”. (A similar explanation for the Delphic Pythia’s prophetic trances has been advanced, in view of the concentration in the oracular *adyton* of ethylene from geological faults under the temple; de Boer et al. 2001, Etiope et al. 2006.) Mainstream classicists, notably the world’s leading expert on Greek religion, Burkert (1987: 108-109), reject this idea, observing rightly that drug-use, in our time at least, leads ultimately to social alienation, despair and atheism, rather than to any sense of community, hope and faith.

While agreeing with Burkert that drug-use cannot of itself explain the mysteries, though it may have played an ancillary role, I admire at least the fact that Wasson takes reports of dramatic, life-altering experiences in the mysteries seriously, just as Julian Jaynes (1976), though too reductionist in thinking that Athena’s appearing to Achilles in *Iliad* One proves that Greeks were all schizophrenic,⁴ at least has the merit of taking the epiphany seriously and not dismissing it as mere narrative window-dressing. In thinking about Wasson’s road to Eleusis as a sympathetic sceptic, I noted that many accounts of initiation available to us resemble not so much those of LSD trips as another phenomenon that first caught the public ear in the 1970s, the near death experience. The stages of death-bed visions were catalogued by physician turned philosopher Raymond A.

Moody Jr. and published in 1975 with an introduction by Elisabeth Kübler-Ross. Six of Moody's fourteen stages of the experience correspond closely to something we know about the initiation-ritual. Little better than a third, this may seem a small proportion til we recall that no single modern experiencer has all the stages of the experience, and that, given the taboo against revealing the mysteries, our information about them is limited indeed.

In what follows I will first compare Moody's stages of the experience with surviving accounts of the mysteries, noting a number of striking similarities, second discuss the historical background against which this comparison must be seen, and third advance a theory to account for the congruence of the two phenomena. I hope that comparing modern experience with ancient testimony may help us overcome what Stephen Clark (1989: 5) calls our temporal parochialness, and shed light on both ancient and modern experience. It would be an added bonus if this demonstrates that the experience, though gaining popular attention only within the last thirty years, is a constant of human experience.

My observation that the two phenomena are similar is not new, for already in the first century of our era Plutarch could write, in a passage to which I shall return, that the soul at the point of death undergoes the same experience as those being initiated into the great mysteries.⁵ I believe, though, that I am the first to bring the comparative method to bear on this subject. I owe this method to Jonathan Shay, who has recently (1994, 2002) discussed cases of post traumatic stress disorder of Vietnam veterans. These he attributes to an original episode of going berserk, during which, in a typical peak performance in death crisis, the warrior fought with extreme viciousness, often to avenge a fallen comrade, taking no precautions to protect himself ("berserk", says Thomas Carlyle, means "in a bare shirt"), indifferent to whether he lived or died. Shay compares such episodes to the *aristeia* performed by several key players in the *Iliad*. The states of going berserk and *aristeia* have much in common with the experience and initiation in that once a person has entered them, he or she is changed forever.⁶ It seems fitting, then, to use Shay's fruitful method in the present study.

8.2 Near Death Experience, Ancient and Modern

Let us now examine Moody's checklist of stages of the experience. Though there have been many subsequent studies,⁷ and other scholars organize their data somewhat differently, I have chosen for convenience to discuss it using the categories that Moody devised. I will compare each stage with ancient descriptions involving initiation in the mysteries. Certain of Moody's points have no clear ancient analogue, such as the categories that he calls Hearing the News of oneself being pronounced dead, Feelings of Peace and Quiet, The Noise, a loud buzzing or ringing sound, The Dark Tunnel, Out of the Body, and The Review, in which one's life flashes before one's eyes. I hope to show, however, that other points have very suggestive echoes in the ancient sources about Eleusis.

These include Ineffability, or the observation that human language is inadequate to describe the experience.⁸ It seems fitting to combine this with the later

stage Moody calls Telling Others, which involves a reluctance by NDErs, either fearing ridicule or sensing a lack of empathy in those who have not had the experience, to tell their stories.⁹ The ancient analogue to this, though not at first apparent, is, I think, very real. As we saw in section 3.1 above, the dead are locked within the silent grave, and this wordless condition naturally infects those who have returned from death, so that when Heracles rescues Alcestis from Thanatos, she cannot speak for three days til she has been undedicated to the nether gods. This is related to the mysteries in that their name comes from the word μύειν, “to keep mum” and the ancients referred this to keeping the mouth closed, thereby maintaining secrecy.¹⁰ Athenian law forbade anyone from revealing the mysteries, so that tragic playwright Aeschylus, and two generations later rich bad-boy Alcibiades got into serious trouble when accused of having done so, as we saw in section 6.5 above. Yet Greek religion has no such taboos as that which Judaism puts on uttering the tetragrammaton, and if those present at a sacrifice were told to hush,¹¹ this was a stop-gap ban to avoid unwittingly angering the god with ill-omened words, and was lifted right after the sacrifice, while the initiate bore a life-long vow of silence. It is to Wasson’s credit to have suggested that the special Eleusinian prohibition just formalized what would in any case be an inevitable result of initiation, namely that one cannot discuss it with the uninitiated, for there are no words rich or powerful enough to describe it, and no shared basis of experience to counteract the listener’s natural incredulity.

Let us turn next to Moody’s stage of Meeting Others known to the NDEr who have already died.¹² A couple of ancient sources tell of ghosts at Eleusis, especially during the celebration of the mysteries. Herodotus says that after Xerxes’ army had wasted Attica while the Athenians were in retreat within their walls, the Athenian traitor, Dicaeus chanced to be with a Spartan in the Thriasian plain, and there saw a cloud of dust advancing from Eleusis, such as a host of thirty thousand might raise.¹³ As he and his companion were wondering who the men, from whom the dust arose, could possibly be, a sound of voices reached his ear, and he thought he recognized the mystic hymn to Bacchus. As they watched, the dust, from which the sound arose, became a cloud, and the cloud went up into the air and drifted off to Salamis, making for the Greek fleet. Dicaeus saw this as a sign that Xerxes’ fleet would be destroyed, as indeed it soon was. In a similar vein, Pausanias says that once a man not ready for initiation entered the shrine during the mysteries to satisfy his curiosity; he saw ghosts everywhere, and on returning home and telling what he had seen, he died.¹⁴

Moody calls the next stage meeting The Being of Light. I will examine this testimony in two parts, the strange light and the sense of personhood it imparts. First, let us consider the light, described variously as pure crystal clear, illuminating, beautiful and radiant, which though very bright does not hurt the eyes, and which seems to grow larger as the experiencer draws near.¹⁵ The initiates to the highest stages of the mysteries had a sacred vision. This is clear from the name of this stage, the ἐποπτεῖα, and that of the priest who presided over it, the Hierophant, or “one who reveals the sacred things”. This vision was marked by a

strange light. Pindar, for example, says that for the initiates the strength of the sun shines when it is night below, and in meadows red with roses their suburb grows heavy with shadowy incense and trees that bear a golden fruit.¹⁶ Aristophanes says of the area reserved for the initiated in the other world that a certain breath of oboes blows round them and they see as fair a light as we do here.¹⁷

Next let us consider the feeling that the light was a person, readily identified by Christians as Jesus.¹⁸ When Heracles was denied initiation in the mysteries, either because he was polluted by shedding centaurs' blood, or because he was a foreigner,¹⁹ he is said to have told the officials that he had been initiated in mysteries truer by far than those that they bore, and that in the end he had seen Kore.²⁰ The end of the papyrus that preserves this passage is badly damaged, but the sense is clear. Heracles had descended into Hades' in quest of Cerberus and there seen Persephone. This, he claims, makes him a truer initiate than any inducted by the Hierophant himself. Note that Heracles equates initiation with a vision of the loving, life-giving grain-goddess rather than her husband, the greedy rapist, Hades.

The next item on Moody's list is what he calls the Border or Limit, which is experienced variously as a fence or large body of water giving onto a distant shore.²¹ These descriptions sound remarkably like the Elysian field (see section 1.6.5 above) to which the ferry-man of the other world, Charon brings the blessed dead in Greek myth (see section 2.5 above). In section 7.3 above we noted the similarity between the names "Elysium" and "Eleusis" and the possibility that the blessed afterlife promised to initiates at Eleusis was specifically entry into Elysium.

Obviously no NDErs stayed dead, and all experienced what Moody dubbed Coming Back.²² Each of the passages that he groups under this rubric reports a decision, made either by the patient or by God that the patient must live. The implication is that in most cases, about which we can never learn, the same process occurs, with the opposite result. Homer's Zeus has a pair of golden scales in which he weighs whether or not a man will die.²³ Pestalozzi (1945) argued that the first recipient of this judgement was the Ethiopian king Memnon.²⁴ If Memnon is a recollection in Greek myth of the real-life Amenhotep III, as I have argued in section 4.4 above, then the weighing of his soul will derive most likely from the weighing of the heart against the feather of Truth in the Egyptian other world that determines the deceased's right of entry to the Field of Reeds. According to section 2.1 above, this field was the origin of Greek Elysium. We have already noted that Elysium was apparently the other world-destination promised to initiates at Eleusis.

Moody catalogues two long-term consequences of the experience. The first he calls Effects on Lives, involving an increased understanding of the world and empathy for fellow humans, diminished egocentrism, and an ability to live in the moment without anxiety.²⁵ This effect was reported also in ancient experiences, such as that of Aridaeus of Soli, to whose story I will return.²⁶ With these testimonials it is interesting to compare the statement of Diodorus of Sicily that those who have had a share in the mysteries become more pious and just and in all respects better than they were before.²⁷ Whether this was universally true, however, is open to doubt; we know, for example, that Sulla was initiated before he ordered

the great purge.²⁸

The other sequel to the experience Moody calls New Views of Death, namely the conviction that there is life after death. This belief, which totally dispels one's own fear of dying and deeply assuages one's grief over the death of loved ones,²⁹ strongly recalls Pindar's claim that he is blessed who having seen the mysteries goes below the earth, for he knows the end of life and its Zeus-given beginning.³⁰ Also speaking of the mysteries, Sophocles says that those of mortals are thrice blessed who having seen these rites go into Hades', for to them alone it is given to live there, while other people have all misfortunes.³¹ While this passage seems to attribute some supernatural magic to the mysteries, in light of Pindar's words I interpret it rather as meaning that initiates believe they will live again in Hades, while everyone else looks upon death as pure misfortune. When Plutarch says that the dying soul has the same experience as those being initiated into great mysteries, he goes on to specify that there is first of all wandering and aimless running about and dimly seen and endless passageways through the dark and before the end the most dreadful things: terror and trembling and sweat and a racing heart. But after this one meets a marvelous light, pure places and meadows receive you that hold songs and dances and the solemnity of holy utterances and sacred visions. In these places one who has completed initiation becomes free and goes about crowned and feasting in the company of pure and holy men.³²

I emphasize two points here. One is that while the narrative describing an experience may be shaped by the social and historical situation in which it occurs,³³ the experience itself seems independent of any religious dogma in which the one who experiences it has been indoctrinated.³⁴ In the same way, Aristotle claims that those initiated into the mysteries did not have to learn anything, but to suffer and be in a certain state, in other words to have an experience.³⁵ The other point is that not all who have either an experience or initiation into the mysteries achieve the same depth of penetration, for some encounters are more superficial, as perhaps in Sulla's case, and others more profound. This fact recalls the claim of Hierophants, quoted by Plato, that many may carry the thyrsus, but true Bacchae are few.³⁶

8.3 Historical Background

Let us now consider the historical background against which these similarities must be interpreted. The view of death endorsed by the Olympian religion and eloquently expressed by Homer is, as we said in section 1.1 above, that our soul leaves the body that is our self and squeaking like a bat flies to the underworld, there barely to exist, reft of light, strength, and joy. Some tried to draw consolation from this dogma. For example, while on death-row, Socrates told his followers that if death is only dreamless sleep, it must be a marvelous gain, since the whole of time, if looked at in this way, is but a single night, and Epicurus argued that one should not fear death, since we will never meet it, for while we are alive it does not exist for us and when it comes, we ourselves no longer are.³⁷ It is obvious, though, that these are desperate attempts to make a consolatory purse out of the sow's ear of an uncompromising and depressing expectation about the afterlife. Indeed, in the

Odyssey Achilles' ghost explicitly rejects the very possibility of consolation.³⁸ This attitude persists in Greece to this day under cover of Orthodox Christianity with its promise of the resurrection.³⁹

Ancient Greeks knew that those apparently dead might be resuscitated (ἀναβιοῦν), and catalogues of such events were current enough for Democritus to critique them in his *Concerning those in Hades*, whose title perhaps played tongue-in-cheek with the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.⁴⁰ though they were not, presumably, so familiar with this as modern advances in medicine have made us. Pindar says that greed seduced even the god of healing, A(e)sclapius to bring back from death a man already taken.⁴¹ The sequel frames this story as an act of hubris, for Zeus thunder-blasts both physician and patient, for whom the Scholiast gives various names.⁴² Other stories of resuscitation from Greek myth include those of Alcestis, whom Heracles rescued by wrestling with Death beside her grave; Sisyphus, whom Hades sent back to earth to punish his wife for neglecting his funeral-plans; and Protesilaus, whom, having died at Troy whither he had sailed on the day after his wedding, the gods restored to one day of bliss with his bride.⁴³

Apart from myth we can suggest a real-life scenario in which resuscitation of the seeming dead must have been fairly common. Ancient peoples were constrained by the needs of thirst, farming and commerce to live and work near sources of water. A sad consequence is that drowning must have been fairly common. Drowning, as distinct from heart-attack, traffic accident, fatal war-wound or death in childbirth, is relatively amenable to treatment if the victim be reached in time. We can imagine that the ancients, who thought breath the stuff of consciousness,⁴⁴ had some form of cardio-pulmonary resuscitation, as is perhaps suggested both by the idea of divine inspiration and by the custom of placing the mouth over a dying relative's to catch his or her last breath.⁴⁵ Suggestively, Egyptians thought one became immortal by drowning, as we saw in section 2.5 above. This idea was known in the Greek myth of Ino-Leucothea with its clear Egyptian connection.⁴⁶ (Ino-Leucothea is closely associated with the grain-goddesses Isis and Demeter, since another of her names is Byne, Greek for "brewer's malt", which is germinated barley.)⁴⁷ This odd notion makes sense if those resuscitated after near-drowning claimed to have survived death.

As Jenő Platthy (1992: 68-102) has shown, Greeks were also familiar with the near-death experience. This is illustrated, as Moody notes (1975: 110-11), by Plato's myth of Er, a Greek soldier left for dead on the battle-field, who went into the next world and witnessed the process of reincarnation before his soul returned to his body and he awoke.⁴⁸ Other cases collected by Platthy include the epic poet Aristeas of Proconnesus, whose body disappeared when he had died in a blacksmith's shop, and who periodically thereafter appeared to relatives; Aridaeus nicknamed Thespesius of Soli, who recovered three days after seemingly dying of a fall; and Cleonymus of Athens, who revived, again after three days, from seeming death of unknown cause.⁴⁹

8.4 The “Orphic” Gold Leaves/ The Book of the Dead

Greeks also produced guidebooks for the journey to the afterlife, and these continue to surface in excavations, the most recent at Pherae, Thessaly in 1997. An early example from a fourth-century grave in Petelia near Strongoli, Calabria found in 1835 was inscribed with the following apparently traditional verses:

You will find in the halls of Hades on the left a spring,
and beside it a white cypress stands.
Don't go near this spring.
But on the other side you will find cold water
flowing from the lake of Memory. Guards stand before it.
Say to them: “I am the child of Earth and starry Sky,
yet my race is heavenly. You too know this:
I am dry with thirst and I am dying. So quickly give me
cold water flowing from the lake of Memory”.
And they will let you drink from the holy spring,
and then you will join the other heroes.⁵⁰

Such guidebooks are found elsewhere, such as the Tibetan *Bardo Thötröl*. Yet Siegfried Morenz (1950: 65) points out that only two of these are known from the ancient Mediterranean: the Egyptian *Pyramid Texts* and their successors, the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead* on the one hand, and this and other similar Greek gold leaves on the other—which most scholars call “Orphic”, but which Günther Zuntz (1976: 146) attributes to Pythagoreans—, and that of these the Egyptian are significantly older. Whether this argues for Egyptian influence, as Harrison (1903: 576), Wilamowitz (1932: 2.202-203), Richard Seaford (1986: 11) and Morenz himself thought, is unclear.⁵¹ Certainly an Egyptian source would explain three otherwise enigmatic features of the Greek text. First is the need to avoid the spring and cypress, for in Egyptian lore:

Amun judges the land with his fingers.
He speaks to the heart,
he judges the guilty,
he assigns him to the East,
the righteous to the West.

(remembering, as we noted in section 2.5 above that *i3by* means “left” as well as “east”, and *imn* means “right” as well as “west”), but this may be due to an archetype of the left as sinister and gauche, and an otherwise similar gold leaf found in 1974 at Hipponium (modern Vibo Valentia) places the spring to be avoided on the *right*.⁵² Then there is the lake of Memory, whereas Greek myth normally puts into the other world a river of Forgetfulness (Lethe). It is telling that the *Book of the Dead* has spells both for causing the deceased to remember his name and for drinking water in the other world.⁵³ Finally, Reinhold Merkelbach (1999: 5) relates the dead Orphic’s claim to be “the child of Earth and starry Sky” to the fact, noted

in section 4.2 above, that Egyptians equated their dead with Osiris, son of the earth-god Geb and sky-goddess Nut; the word-order is the same in Egypt and Greek, whereas our “Heaven and Earth” is Biblical. Merkelbach further proposes (p. 6) that these ideas could have passed from Egypt to Greece through the medium of sacral drama.

The existence of such other world guidebooks suggests both a belief in an afterlife and some confidence that the authors had reliable information about it. How did they get this knowledge? Was it guess-work or did they do research? If so, what kind? We find a hint in another gold leaf from a tomb in Sybaris (modern Sibari) in southern Italy, which says ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες, “you have fallen a kid into milk” (with “like” dropped, as often in animal-similes).⁵⁴ Domenico Comparetti (1882: 115) glosses this by saying that the dead initiate has “obtained plenty of the only thing he was longing for”. Perhaps. But if one falls into enough milk, one drowns, thereby becoming Ἑσιῆς as in the Egyptian magic formula: “take a Circaean falcon and deify it in the [milk] of a black [cow]”, and the *Derveni Papyrus* shows Orphics making ritual use of milk.⁵⁵ During the Exodus the Lord forbade the Jews to seethe a kid in its mother’s milk, whence Moses Maimonides argued that they must have encountered the custom in some pagan idolatry. An oft-mooted Canaanite source is to be rejected on epigraphical grounds, but in light of the Exodus-context, one from Egypt, perhaps specifically Mendes (whose goat-cult we saw in section 1.4 above), close as it was to Pithom and Rameses, seems possible. That a kid be cooked in milk need not, of course, imply that it was first drowned therein, but the connection is symbolic rather than literal, as Robert Graves (1948: 199-200) has seen, and finds its home in the worship of that magic milk-maker Dionysus, Demeter’s companion in the mysteries.⁵⁶

8.5 A Final Hypothesis

In what James Longrigg (1993: 6-25) has called the pre-rational phase of Greek medicine, Greeks practised homeopathy. So Telephus, wounded by Achilles’ spear, was advised by the Delphic oracle to seek out Achilles and have him cure him, saying, “he who has wounded shall heal”.⁵⁷ In a similar vein, when Heracles had strangled the Nemean lion, known for its invulnerable hide, he gave himself armour by skinning it, using its own claw as a knife.⁵⁸ This leads me to suggest that the Hierophants had learned artificially to induce near-death experiences as a sort of vaccine against the fear of death. If they got this knowledge from abroad, the obvious source was Egypt. Both Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera saw Egypt as the homeland of mysteries, the child Horus shown raising his finger to his lips was thought to enjoin a mystic silence.⁵⁹

Certainly, experiences in healthy people are known, as when fighter pilots, accelerating beyond the speed of sound lose consciousness and see bright lights.⁶⁰ The 1990 Joel Schumacher film, *Flatliners* shows a group of medical students who artificially induce experiences by stopping their hearts. This risky and unethical procedure is out of the question here. Still, several studies have shown less drastic ways in which experiences can be induced, including the power of suggestion, as

when an alpine climber falls, thinks he will land on rocks, but instead falls on snow and survives; sensory deprivation, as with miners trapped underground in a cave-in; and hallucinogenic drugs.⁶¹ This last method mimics the peptide neuromodulators naturally released by a human brain approaching death,⁶² and it is noteworthy both that some drugs, such as alcohol, serve instead to inhibit the experience, and that hallucinations can be shared by more than one individual.⁶³

I suggest that the Hierophants may have used all these methods, as well as others of which we are still unaware. As to suggestion, the initiation-ceremony was preceded by several days in which one sacrificed a piglet, bathed in the sea, fasted and abstained from wine; one then walked to Eleusis, and heard mysterious things said by the Hierophant. By walking over the Cephissus-causeway (as we saw in section 7.2 above), one reenacted Demeter's wandering in quest of her daughter,⁶⁴ but might one not also have physically enacted an experience, reifying the promise that we will come (ἐλευσόμεθα) not just to Eleusis, but finally to the other world?

As to sensory deprivation, the initiates arrived at Eleusis in the evening, having finished their walk by torch-light (indeed, one clan of priests was called Dadouchoi, "Torch-bearers") and the ceremony was held in a roofed, hence lightless, hall, in marked contrast to all other Greek religious festivals, which took place in the open air. Moreover, the standard injunction to silence, εὐφημία was in force.⁶⁵ Thus, much of the ceremony was conditioned by total privation of both light and sound.

As to drugs, we know unequivocally that a special drink was used only for this ceremony, whose main ingredient was barley, though we have already commented on the problems with assigning it a pharmacological component. I suggest that the barley may at times have been tainted with ergot and at times not, and that those who drank the tainted form may sometimes have been induced to hallucinations thereby, but at other times suffered the less pleasant symptoms of ergot-poisoning. These symptoms, which are more commonly reported than hallucinations, are sometimes thought to explain the great plague of Athens.⁶⁶ They themselves may have nudged initiates in the direction of an experience. When ergot and fly-agaric were not at work, opium may have been, for the poppy was sacred to Demeter and often contained in bread.⁶⁷

Moody's more recent (1992) research suggests that one particular aspect of the experience, namely Meeting Others, can be artificially produced in laboratory conditions by the technique of scrying (λεκανομαντεία), or gazing into platters or mirrors. He correctly notes that ancients artificially induced this state in their psychomanteia, or oracles of the dead, such as that at Ephyra in Epirus, and that they were familiar with the technique of mirror-gazing (FIGURE 45).⁶⁸ I submit that the priests may have used this technique too.

Given that the spiritual realm—everlasting, infinite, changeable, hidden, vital and able to transform us—is to the physical as water to dry land, this artificial induction was, metaphorically, a kind of drowning: ἄλλαδε, μύσται, "initiates into the sea!"⁶⁹ Rupert Brooke's poem "Heaven", is, of course, sarcastic, yet well reflects the Eleusinian ideal:

And under that Almighty Fin,
The littlest fish may enter in.

If my hypothesis be true, initiates in the mysteries will have experienced, in degrees varying from nothing to the most profound, a near-death experience, and like modern NDErs will have believed by themselves, without need of dogma or doctrine, that they have already met death and found it not fearful, but greatly to be welcomed. The therapeutic effect of this belief could hardly be overstated, and so indeed, as ancient poets say, blessed and thrice blest were they.

9. AFTERWORD

This has been a work of etymology, and like all such a quest for metaphor, striving to see day's eye behind the daisy and so reclaim the concrete thinking of a simpler time.¹ In translation poetic and religious language meet, for the metaphorical exists only within the metaphysical.² If Americans waged civil war over a point of grammatical concord (whether the United States "is" or "are"),³ the Reformation was a struggle over images (in what sense—whether in elements or action—bread could become the body of Christ). So too with us: there are no rivers in the sky, of course, temples do not fly, no word has wings nor any dawn a rose; yet if we are to speak of the other world at all, it cannot be but in such terms as these.

The belief that the Shades are something, and death does not end all—and the joy that such faith brings—, whatever their ontological origin, do not begin with Joseph of Arimathea's empty tomb in Pontius Pilate's strife-torn Judea.⁴ Rather, they had already long sustained the Mediterranean's oldest culture and spilled over into Greece, perhaps already in Mycenaean times, where they sowed fertile seeds of hope in the unpromising soil of the clear-eyed, fatalistic Greek imagination, and there bore a crop of mummy wheat⁵ first in the belief in Elysium and the blessed dead judged by Rhadamanthys, who can speak to us only if we feed them, and finally in Demeter's mysteries at Eleusis, where we may be rescued from Death by force though pale and faint.⁶ Whether this be true, as I believe, she to whom I dedicate this book already knows, and you and I are soon enough to learn.

NOTES

Notes to Introduction

1 *Gilgamesh* X.301: *a-me-lu-tum šá kīma(gim) qanê(gi) a-pi ḥa-ši-pi {x} šum-šú*, trans. George 2003: 697.

2 Though on this specific passage, see Nilsson 1950: 625 ff., and Heubeck in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 1.227.

3 If the influence of their predecessors causes poets anxiety, as Harold Bloom contends, the very concept has distressed some critics: see Baxendall 1985: 58-59. I imply by the term “influence” no mere passive receptivity on the part of Greek poets, but rather an active dialectical engagement with the older culture.

4 Pfeiffer 1968: 69-71.

Notes to Chapter One

1 Body as self: *Il.* 1.4; *pace* Archil. fr. 5.3 West; soul squeaks like a bat: *Od.* 24.6; joyless afterlife: 11.15-19, 29, 94.

2 *Od.* 12.326; cf. Tyrt. fr. 12.32 West.

3 *Od.* 11.488-91.

4 *Od.* 4.561-69.

5 For a list of those who accept Burkert's theory, see Chapter Two note 4. Though Πρωτεύς seems a variant of πρῶτιστος, *primus* (Timoth. *Pers.* 791.236 *PMG*; cf. πρᾶτεύς, Pythagoras *ap.* Syrianus *ad Arist. Met.* 10.4), Bérard (1933: xvii-xviii) and Jackson Knight (1968: 111-22) relate it to Egyptian “Prouti,” alleged biform of *Pr-ʿ3*, “great house,” “pharaoh.” While rejecting this, Lloyd (1993: 3.43-44 *ad Hdt.* 2.112) notes that the Nile-god Ḥ'pī might have suggested an “old man of the sea.” Meanwhile, Lefebvre (1988: xiv-xvi, 140) moots that Proteus' shape-shifting tendencies—which classicists (e.g., Davies

1991: 59 *ad* Soph. *Trach.* 10) typically put down to his role as water-spirit like Achelous and Thetis—might have been inspired by the feats of Bata in the Egyptian *Tale of Two Brothers* (I thank Micah Ross for this reference). That a god could be old is itself an indication of non-Greek origin (Burkert 1985: 201).

6 On the Field of Reeds, (*šḥt i3r.w*), see CT 30 §94c, BD 17 §54, etc. The Duat (*d3.t*) ≈ Amenta, lit. “the west”. On the Field of Reeds/ Elysium connection, see Lauth 1867: 5; Nilsson 1950: 619-33; Edwards 1961: 30; Vermeule 1979: 42-82. The word Ἠλύσιον may come from *šḥt i3r.w*, “Field of Reeds” as we shall see in section 2.1 below. Hesiod (*Op.* 171) calls Elysium the “Isles of the blessed” (μάκαρες =? Egyptian *m3 ‘-hrw*, the righteous dead): see Krappe 1940; Daniel 1962; and section 3.2 below. Other Near Eastern sources for Elysium have been suggested: for example, Cocco (1955) links the term to Ugaritic *sd ʾ*, “field of God”. On the reed-field, see Weill 1936.

7 The official judgement on Lauth is unflattering; cf. Dawson and Uphill 1972: 164.

8 On which, see Erman 1883, Wiedemann 1883, Spiegelberg 1907, Thompson 1928, and Fournet 1989.

9 But see Barthélemy 1763.

10 Chadwick 1967.

11 N. Ja. Marr (1865-1934) rose to great prominence in the Soviet intelligentsia by inventing a Marxist linguistics, but his work was so absurd (he claimed to have discovered the five original words whence all human languages were descended and, importantly for us, believed linguistic borrowing impossible, all languages being from their inceptions mixtures) that it brought both the discipline and the ideology into disrepute. By 1950 a movement was afoot to displace his epigones from their seats in the country’s leading academies. See Murra, Hankin and Holling 1951, and Thomas 1957.

12 Cf. e.g. Burkert 1973 = 2001a: 72-79.

13 See most recently Lefkowitz and Rogers 1996.

14 Highly favourable: Rendsburg 1989; highly critical: Jasanoff and Nussbaum 1989; somewhere in between: Ray 1990. See my remarks in section 1.4 below.

15 Think, for example of English “canoe” and “igloo”.

16 Stubbings 1951: 90. For this and other places mentioned, see the maps at the end of the book. For further discussions of the archaeological evidence, see Pendelbury 1930; Merrillees 1973; Bouzek 1985; Crowley 1989; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 39-41; and Cline 1994. Morris 1997: 602-603 sees Egyptian influence as scant compared with Semitic. The late Helladic shipwreck found off Ulu Burun near Kaş, Turkey in 1984 gives direct evidence of this pan-Aegean culture: see Bass 1987, Payton 1991.

17 KN Db 1105; see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 136.

18 *Od.* 4.126-27, 14.257-65, 17.423-34; see von Lieven 2006.

19 Aegean influence on Egypt: Frankfort 1929: 18-27. Egyptian influence on the Aegean: e.g. Hicks 1962: 100-102 finds Egyptian influence in the story of Helen’s and Menelaus’ sojourn in Egypt (*Od.* 3.300) and Burkert 1973 = 2001a: 72-79 finds an Egyptian inspiration for the “test of the bow” episode (21).

20 Morgan 1988: 169-70.

21 *Il.* 23.186-87.

22 Other cases of embalming: *Il.* 16.669-83, 19.38-39; see Webster 1958: 109. Greek gods of course do whatever they want, but they tend to act in ways that are human, all-too-human (Aesch. fr. 350 Radt = Pl. *Resp.* 383a).

23 Lengthy prothesis: *Il.* 24.664, *Od.* 24.63. *ταρχύω* = “bury”: *Il.* 7.85, etc. The connection between the two Greek words is claimed by Helbig 1887: 55-56; Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 95-96; Mylonas 1948: 58; and Nilsson 1955: 375 n. 6. It is denied by Blümel 1927; Andronkios 1968, W6, who calls it a “rein äusserliche Ähnlichkeit”; and Chantraine 1968-80: 4.1095, s.v. *ταρχύω* (though he seems less certain 4.1094 s.v. *τάριχος*). See now Janda 1996. Similarly, Egyptian *wḥt* means both “place of embalming” and “kitchen” (see Chapter Six note 68 below).

24 Intramural burials: Persson 1942: 15; as to Egyptian “mummies”, there is much evidence to show, at best, that embalming was not the universal practice: Wace 1932: 140; Daniel 1964: 76.

25 Israelite embalming: Genesis 50: 1-3; Thetis embalming Patroclus: *Il.* 19.39; excerebration via the nasal septum: see section 6.1 below.

26 PY Fr 1204 is the only tablet to mention the recipient of rose-oil, viz. *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, i.e. “to τρισήρωες”; though unparalleled, this form appears to refer to a hero, which accords well with the broader context of the use of scented oil if it is in the “Festival of the Thirsty (Dead)” as suggested by Guthrie 1959: 49-50 and Palmer 1963: 252-53. Though the kenning “thirsty ones” = “dead” conforms to later Greek usage (cf. Deonna 1939; Alexiou 1974: 202-205), Guthrie’s and Palmer’s interpretation has been variously challenged by Marinatos 1966; Adrados 1968; and Ventrìs and Chadwick 1973: 479.

27 See Paus. 2.24. On thermoluminescence dating, see Aitken 1985. I thank Hayboon Mak for discussing with me the physics involved in this procedure. Similar structures in different places do not, of course, prove contact: Viktor Klochko has excavated a pyramid near Lugansk, Ukraine that pre-dates those of Egypt by at least 300 years (*Guardian Weekly* September 15-21 2006 page 11).

28 Lefkandi hero: Popham, Touloupa and Sackett 1982: 170; Isis-grave: Mylonas 1961: 61, Coldstream 1977: 79.

29 Pietschmann 1894: 979 (with reservations); Gardiner 1947: 2.124 §394, 2.211 §435; Lloyd 1976: 2.4; and Bernal 1987 and 1991: 1.95, 2.443.

30 *BD* 15 §1, etc.

31 *EA* 84.37, 139.8; see Mercer 1939: 1.300-301, 2.464-65.

32 *KN Db* 1105 + 1446; see Palmer 1963: 179; and Ventrìs and Chadwick 1973: 136.

33 The word for “river” is *lrrw* > Hebrew *ʾr* (Genesis 41:1, etc.); that for “inundation” is *ḥpy*. See De Buck 1948; Goedicke 1979: 69.

34 *Hdt.* 2.5; Gwyn Griffiths 1966.

35 Akkadian *Miṣri*: Civil et al. 1977: 116; and Koehler and Baumgartner 1995: 591; cf. Hittite *Mizri*, Hebrew *Miṣrayīm*, Genesis 12:10 etc., Mycenaean *Mi-sa-ra-jo*, *KN F* 841. Egyptian *Kmt*, cf. *Χημία*, *Plut. Mor.* 364C. See section 5.3 below.

36 Goedicke 1979.

37 *Νεῖλος*: Hes. *Theog.* 338, Solon fr. 28 West, *Danais* fr. 1 Davies, Bernabé.

38 E.g. *Od.* 4.618.

39 P. Montet, quoted in Lloyd 1978: 2.4.

40 This is shown by many nouns with the pre-Greek -vθ- stem, e.g. ἡ ἀσάμινθος (Mycenaean *a-sa-mi-to*), ἡ κόρινθος (*ko-ri-to*), and ὁ λαβύρινθος (*da-pu-ri-to-jo*).

41 E.g. *KN K* 872.1 and *Eb* 416.1.

42 The word appears in the *Odyssey* in all the oblique cases except the vocative, including both the uncontracted and contracted genitive forms, and with the postposition -δε, and it is positioned with the foot-division falling before either the ultima or the penult.

43 Tragus: Paus. 8.23.2, Aegospotami: *Hdt.* 9.119.2 and *Xen. Hell.* 2.1.18-19.

44 Aegae: Alc. fr. 298.6 Voigt; Mt. Aegaleus: Hdt. 8.90; this word is indirectly attested in Mycenaean as the name of the province on the other side of the nearly homonymous Messenian mountain, *pe-ra, ko-ra-i-ja, pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, Περαγολαλία, Περα-αίγολαῖοι, PY Ng01 [332], etc.; αἶγες: Hesych., *Suda* s.v. and Artemidorus 2.12 [= 120 Pack].

45 A pre-Greek word: Fowler 1988: 99-102; a metaphor: Chantraine 1968-80: 1.30 s.v. αἰγιαλός (for the horses of Manannan, cf. W. B. Yeats, "Cuchulain's Fight with the Sea" ["Chaunt in his ear delusions magical, That he may fight the horses of the sea"]) and Gregory 1904: 105; Poseidon sends a bull out of a sea-wave at Eur. *Hipp.* 1213-14); from αἶσσω: LSJ s.v., who compare Sanskrit *éjati*; Thieme 1954: 43; Hooker 1980.

46 Aesch. *Sept.* 310-11, Catull. 31.3. See Hutchinson 1985: 94-95 ad Aesch. *Sept.* 310-11.

47 Onians 1951: 237, 249. With this custom is to be compared the offering of human hair – another emanation of the head – to rivers (*Il.* 23.140-51, Aesch. *Cho.* 6-7).

48 Bulls at Troy and Sicily: *Il.* 21.130-33, Diod. Sic. 4.23.4; bulls = goats: Cook 1914: 1.501; Greece as a land of goats: Harrison 1927: 206.

49 Goats sacrificed to springs: Hor. *Carm.* 3.13; goats sacrificed to Dionysus: Burkert 1966 = 2001b: 1-36; Dionysus as bull-like: *Carm.* pop. 871 *PMG*, Ion 774 *PMG*, Soph. fr. 959 Radt, Eur. *Bacch.* 100, 920-22; as lord of the whole liquid element: Plut. *Mor.* 365A, quoting Pind. fr. 153 Maehler.

50 Hes. *Theog.* 789 etc.

51 Amalthea is a goat: Aratus, *Phaen.* 163, Callim. *Jov.* 49; her cornucopia came from Achelous: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.5; Achelous is bull-formed: Archil. fr. 287 West, Soph. *Trach.* 10-14; as are other rivers: Eur. *Ion* 1261, *Or.* 1378, *IA* 275 etc. See Isler 1970.

52 Αἰγόκερως, "Capricorn" < *αἰγοκέραος; on its Egyptian origin: cf. Lucian, *De astrologia* 7; Smyth 1844: 172-73; as goat-fish hybrid, αἰγίπιν: Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 27.

53 On the αἶξ-bird, see Arist. *HA* 593b23, Thompson 1936: 30; on the connection with the *Himmelsgeiß*, see West 1978: 366-68.

54 Ptah incarnated as Apis: Hdt. 2.38, 153, 3.27-30, Lloyd 1976: 2.171, ad Hdt. 2.38; Ptah as creator-god: Faulkner 1985: 191-92, Glossary s.vv. "Khnum" and "Ptah".

55 *Etym. Magn.* 29.8-9 s.v. Αἴγυπτος.

56 Goat-cult of Mendes: Manetho 609 F 2 [p. 20] *FGrHist.*; The Greeks, for whom the gods were of one race with humans (Pind. *Nem.* 6.1) and so ἀνθρωποφύες (Hdt. 1.131), always found the Egyptian theriomorphic conception of divinity remarkable (cf. Socrates' oath μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν, Pl. *Grg.* 482B5); the sexual aspect of the cult: Pind. fr. 201 Maehler, Hdt. 2.46, Plut. *Mor.* 989A, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.441.

57 Watkins 1995: 170, suggests that αἰγυπιός, "vulture" (<*ἀργιπιός) is modelled on Αἰγύπτιος rather than the other way round.

58 Similarly, Greek arguably accommodated the Persian proper name *a(h)ura-pāta, "protected by Ahura (Mazda)," as ἀβροβάτης (Aesch. *Pers.* 1072, Bacchyl. *Epin.* 3.48) from the phrase ἀβρὸν βαίνειν (e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1164): so M. Leumann in a private letter to B. Snell (see Snell 1963: 10-11 ad loc.); this suggestion has, however, been rejected by Schmitt 1975.

59 Burkert 1992b: 35, writes that "the Greek language, at any rate the literary Greek that we know, absolutely rejects the use of unadapted foreign words; they are accepted only in perfectly assimilated form as to phonetic and inflexion."

60 On the Panathenaic recension: cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.137; on Troy VIIa: Hiller 1991, with bibl.

61 Mallory 1989: 66-71.

62 Soul becomes a star: *PT* 215, 216, 245, 248, 302; soul goes to Orion (*S3h*): 219 §186a, 442 §820. See Faulkner 1966; Jacq 1986: 172-73; Allen 1989; Krauss 1997. Post-Homeric Greeks sometimes view stars as the home of dead souls (e.g., Heraclitus 22 A 15 Diels-Kranz; *Eur. Supp.* 531-34, *Hel.* 1014-16): see Lattimore 1942: 26-43, §§3-4.

63 R7 + G53 in A. Gardiner's sign-list; Edwards 1961: 34; Erman and Grapow 1971: 1.411. These and subsequent hieroglyphs mentioned in this work can be found in the list on pages viii-ix.

64 Badawy 1956.

65 Its sides face the cardinal points deviating just 3" of arc: see Smyth 1867; Krupp 1978.

66 Edwards 1961: 126. These shafts were not for ventilation, as was once assumed, for they were originally closed on both ends: see Badawy 1964; Trimble 1964 = 1992: 3-8. For a more recent and controversial account of the relations of this pyramid with the constellation Orion, see Bauval and Gilbert 1994, which (pp. 237-41) reprints Trimble's article, and Krupp 1997. Badawy and Trimble's conclusions are endorsed by Brück 1995; but see Wall 2007. I am grateful to Brian S. Rickard for several of these references.

67 *p3s hni.s PT* 310 §494b; Sethe 1948-62: 2.333 *ad loc.* The verbs are third singular feminine *šdm.f* active with the feminine subject *mhn.t* ("ferry-boat") understood. Such antitheses, like *šmt iwt* ("coming and going"), are a hallmark of Egyptian style. *P3it hnn.t* ("what flies out and back") is a kenning for "bird": see Erman and Grapow 1971: 1.494.

68 Jones 1990.

69 Kadry 1986, with bibl. Yet earlier funeral boats have been excavated: see Dal Maso 2000.

70 Vase-painting shows sailboats in Egypt ca 3200: see Bowen 1960.

71 "Reed-float" = *zhn*: *PT* 222 §201b; *k'li-gōme* 'or *'aniyyah 'ēbheh* in Hebrew (Isaiah 18:2; Job 9:26) and βάρις (παπυρίνη) in Greek (*Aesch. Supp.* 874; etc.) < late Egyptian *br*. For papyrus, cf. *Od.* 21.390-91. See Lewis 1974: 29-31. On the reed-float utterances, see Sethe 1948-62: 2.27-36.

72 *Pace* Carter 1957; Ferguson 1958: 244-47; Fell 1976: 253-76.

73 I.e. *šht htpw*.

74 58 §1-7, 110 §12.

75 *Plut. Mor.* 382E.

76 *BD* 21-22.

77 *BD* 125.

78 To borrow Cicero's phrase (*De orat.* 3.61).

79 The ideogram is F35 on the sign-list. On Horapollon's (*Hieroglyphica* 2.4) explanation for the origin of the sign, which Gardiner 1957: 465 accepts, see Rigoni and Zanco 1996: 160-61, with bibl. In Greek thought also the tongue should draw its words from the heart (*Pind. Nem.* 4.8) and the tongue should grow in the chest (*Sappho* fr. 120 Lobel-Page, Voigt). See Onians 1954: 66-83, 469-70, and Woodbury 1988: 178 = 1991: 475. Only in the case of the unprincipled does the tongue speak without the consent of the φρήν (*Eur. Hipp.* 612, cf. *Ar. Ran.* 101-102, 1471, *Thesm.* 275, *Arist. Rhet.* 1416a29). See Avery 1968.

80 *BD* 30B. For Maat, see Assmann 1990, to whose bibl. add Lichtheim 1992 and Karenga 2004.

81 *Diod. Sic.* 1.72; Merkelbach 1993, 2000.

82 Gardiner 1957: 170 (bold type added).

83 *Eur. Alc.* 442-44, *Verg. Aen.* 6.107, etc.

84 243-44, cf. *Hermesianax* fr. 7.1-6 Powell, *Anth. Pal.* 7.365.

85 Kurz 1975: 63.

- 86 Ar. *Ran.* passim, Juv. 2.150.
 87 Mud in Hades: e.g. *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 480-82, Pind. fr. 137 Maehler, Soph. fr. 837 Radt; in Orphism: Ar. *Ran.* 145-51, Pl. *Phd.* 69C, *Resp.* 363D, 533D; in Dante: *Inf.* 7.110.
 88 *Ol.* 2.74.
 89 Achilles' meadow: *Od.* 11.539; on the etymological connection, see Puhvel 1969: 64 = 1981: 210.
 90. 90. *Il.* 8.365-69, Hes. *Theog.* 311, Pind. *Dithyramb* 2 = fr. 70b Maehler; Ar. *Ran.* 109, 467-68, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11-2.
 91 He eats the dead: Hes. *Theog.* 771, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.417-25; he is a hybrid: Tzetz. *Chil.* 2.389-92.
 92 Gardiner 1957: 459, quoting Hopner 1913: 47.
 93 Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 6.395, 8.297, Dieterich 1893: 50. Κρεοβόρος is attested only in Aesch. *Supp.* 287 (Abresch's conjecture).
 94 ὄθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς (*Od.* 4.546); Malten 1913: 35; Nilsson 1950: 623.
 95 ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἐσπέρου θεοῦ *OT* 177.
 96 *Mor.* 362B; Gwyn Griffiths 1970: 406-407.
 97 On "grey (or owl)-eyed" Athena, see Schliemann 1875: 54, 112-14; Pottier 1908: 546 = 1937: 454-73; Leumann 1950: 149; and Marinatos 1968. On "ox-eyed" Hera, see Pestalozza 1939; and O'Brien 1993: 134-42. Examples of animal-oaths: Ar. *Vesp.* 83, *Av.* 521, Pl. *Ap.* 22A1, *Grg.* 482B5, etc. Their attribution to Rhadamanthys: Sosicrates 461 F 3 *FGrHist.*
 98 *Il.* 8.69-74, 22.209-13, cf. Aesch. fr. 279-80 Radt, Ar. *Ran.* 1364-1413.
 99 *BD* 30B.
 100 *Od.* 4.351-570.
 101 Cf. Gwyn Griffiths 1947: 122-26; Mylonas 1961: 18-19 expresses scepticism about a possible Cretan connection.
 102 Burkert 1987: 20, citing Sander-Hansen 1956: 35-43; see also Klasens 1952, spell 1. Demeter and Demophon: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 231-55; Isis and Malcander: Plut. *Mor.* 357B-C; the scorpion formula: Leiden, Museum of Antiquities: *Socle Béhague* 1 = New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Metternichstele* 6 §48b-71.

Notes to Chapter Two

- 1 "J'ai rencontré plus d'un vieux voyageur qui affirmait avoir vu voguer dans l'air des canots d'écorce, remplis de "possédés" s'en allant voir leurs blondes, sous l'égide de Belzébuth."
 2 *Od.* 4.563-64.
 3 *BD* 17 §54.
 4 E.g. by Chantraine 1968-80: 2.411 s.v. Ἠλύσιον; Heubeck 1972a: 87 = 1984: 297; S. West in Heubeck et al. 1988: 227 ad *Od.* 4.563ff; M. Schmidt apud Snell 1955-: vol 2 (1991) 908 s.v. Ἠλύσιον; and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 50.
 5 The examples are βρότος, "gore" < ἄμβροτας (for gods are anemic, *Il.* 5.342), ιότης < δειότης, δαίδαλος < πολυδαίδαλος, and ὄχα < ἔξοχος. Cf. Skt. *náveda*, "knowledgeable" < *bṛ̥tana vedāh*, "to be knowledgeable" (Forston 2004: 7-8).
 6 Conception of Dionysus: Pind. *Ol.* 2.25-26, Eur. *Bacch.* 1-3.

7 Theophr. *HP* 1.6.5, Galen 19.731. The thunderbolts are often said to resemble lotus-blooms; e.g. Koch-Harnack 1989: 62-65.

8 Burkert argues that εἰς and ἐν were only secondarily differentiated, cf. Schwyzler 1959: 82, 619. The distinction is, however, clear already in Homer; cf. Chantraine 1953: 103 §145.

9 *IG* 2².1368.37, *Ath. Mitt.* 32.294.

10 Ἠλύσιον in our passage, *Od.* 4.563; ἐνηλύσιος first at Aesch. fr. 17 Radt.

11 *KUB XXX* 24 II 1-4.

12 Gurney 1961: 21.

13 Cf. Νεκύσιος, a Cretan month name, cf. νέκυς, μεθύσιον (εἶδος ἀμπέλου, Hsych., cf. μέθυ), θαλύσια (*θάλυς, cf. gen. pl. θαλέων and fem. θάλεια), and τηύσιος, cf. Skt. *tāyá-*.

14 Accusative of motion without preposition: Chantraine 1939: 45-46 §55; double accusative: *ibid.* 49 §59.

15 English-speakers will balk at a word for field translated as “plain”. In mountainous Greece, however, the size-distinction in force between the two English words is small, and the contrast between the corresponding Greek words ἀγρός and πεδίον negligible. Then, too, the salt-water well on the acropolis at Athens is called a θαλάσσα (*Hdt.* 8.550). Offsetting this semantic question was the bards’ need for a substantive beginning with a consonant to “make position”.

16 On the direct genitive, see Gardiner 1957: 65-66 §85.

17 E.g. Hebrew *taršē* (Isaiah 2:16).

18 We will consider this theory in more detail in section 3.4 below.

19 *Il.* 16.174, 17.263, 21.268, 326; *Od.* 4.477, 581, 7.284; cf. Hes. fr. 320 Merkelbach-West.

20 LSJ s.v. This interpretation goes back to the Scholia ad locc. Cf. also Leumann 1950: 311; Chantraine 1968-77:1.282; and R. Führer apud Snell 1955-: 10.299, who comments, “B[edeutung]... unklar.”

21 *Il.* 12.25; *Od.* 9.111, 14.457, Alc. Z 14.1 Lobel-Page = 338.1 Voigt; Ar. *Nub.* 368, 373; Babrius 65.1; Marcus Aurelius 5.7.

22 It has also been objected by Humbach (1967) and Szemerényi (1974: 144) that as a *bahuvrīhi*, or compound epithet to a noun, the word demands an adjective as its first element (Humbach explains δι- as the compositional form of διερός, “speedy”). This objection is invalid, for such epithets can indeed contain substantives as their first element: a close formal parallel to διππετής is ὀρεστροφός.

23 *Di-we*: i.e. ΔιΨεί, KN Fp 1.2; on the emendation, see Schol. E² *Od.* 4.477, var. 1. Zenodotus, HQ [= 216 Dindorf]; it is supported by Risch 1974: 220; Renehan 1972b: 96.

24 E.g. Chantraine 1968-80: 1.282; J. B. Hainsworth in Heubeck 1988: 337 ad *Od.* 7.284.

25 *IT* 977; cf. fr. 971 Nauck².

26 Frisk 1960: 1.392.

27 Schulze 1892: 238 (quoted by Chantraine 1968-80: 1.282), and Schwyzler 1949-60: 1.452 n. 6; Stanford 1961: 281 ad *Od.* 4.477.

28 Janko 1992: 341 ad *Il.* 16.173-75.

29 Cf. Householder and Nagy 1972: 62-66; Peters 1986; Dunkel 1995.

30 ὤσιπέτης *Il.* 12.201, etc.; ὠκυπέτης 8.42, etc.; cf. ὠκυπέτη Hes. *Theog.* 267.

31 But note *παλιμπετές* *Il.* 16.395, *Od.* 5.27, which means “falling or flying backward”; *ὕπιπυτής* Pind. *Pyth.* 3.105; and *ἀμπυτής* Aesch. *Supp.* 782; Battezzato 2000.

32 *Δακρυοπετής* Aesch. *Supp.* 113, *εὐπετής* 1011, *περιπετής* *Ag.* 233; *προπετής* Pind. *Nem.* 6.63; *χαμαιπετής* Aesch. *Ag.* 920, *Cho.* 964. To some extent this is a false dichotomy: *πέτομαι* and *πίπτω* are closely related in meaning as well as in form, sharing a common cognate in Sanskrit *pat*; see Monier-Williams 1899: 580. Words with *-πετής* from *πετάννυμι* are attested in later Greek, viz. *ἀνα-*, *δεμνιο-*, *δια-*, *κλινο-*, *πεντα-*, *τρι-πετής*. See Schmitt 1967: 233 §481.

33 The earliest post-Homeric uses: Eur. *Bacch.* 1267, *Rhes.* 43, *Hypsipyle* fr. 1. sp. IV, 1.31 Bond; Hippoc. *Morb. Mul.* 1.24 (the reading *διπετέος χαλκοῖο* in Empedocles A 100.9 Diels-Kranz is disputed—some manuscripts read *δι’ εὐπετέος* – see Bollack 1969: 3.485-86); for the translation “translucent”, see *Etym. Magn.* s.v.; Zenodotus is quoted by Schol. *Od.* 4.477 [= 216 Dindorf]; the judgment that the word is “encore inexplicable” is Calame’s 1983: 409.

34 *διπετής* used of the Nile: *Od.* 4.477, 581; the others are Spercheius, *Il.* 16.174, and Scamander, 21.268, 326; rainfall scarce in Egypt: Hdt. 3.10.3; Nile fed by subterranean springs: Diogenes 64 A18 Diels-Kranz; cf. Sen. *Q. Nat.* 4.2.28-30, 6.8.3-5; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.269 [= 277 Wendel].

35 Aegisthus is “blameless” though an adulterous murderer (*Od.* 1.29); ships are “swift” when beached (*Il.* 16.123) and even when turned to stone (*Od.* 13.168), as are very slow horses (*Il.* 23.301-12); bronze is “shining” when in a fire (*Od.* 10.360); stars “seen in all their glory” when the moon is out (*Il.* 8.555); and a river “lovely” when clotted with corpses (*Il.* 21.218). See Combellack 1965.

36 3 fr. 3.ii.66-67 PMG, PMGF = fr. 26.66-67 Calame; the translation is from LSJ Suppl. s.v. Glare and Thompson 1996: 87 now define the word simply as “falling through”, but see Zudini 1975-76; Renehan 1972a, 44 and 1972b. Renehan sees Alcman’s word as Laconian for the Homeric *διειπετής* (*sic*), which he translates as “bright”.

37 E.g., Hooker 1979: 115-17; Van der Valk 1963-64: 256 n. 278; Chantraine 1968-80: 1.282.

38 *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 4; cf. Nonnus *Dion.* 5.200, where the adjective is applied to winds.

39 “Am Himmel fliegend oder fliessend.”

40 “Der metonymische Gebrauch von ‘Fliegen’ im Griechischen weiter verbreitet als bei uns.”

41 Aesch. fr. 160.2 Radt = Ar. *Av.* 1246, Soph. *OC* 1460, Eur. *Her.* 179, *Supp.* 860, *Bacch.* 90.

42 Boisacq 1938: 807; Runes 1932.

43 See Frisk 1960: 2.585-86; Chantraine 1968-80: 3.931 s.v. *ποταμός*.

44 *ḡām śindhavo váruḡasya yanti... váyo ná paptū raghuḡ párijman* 2.28.4. Griffith 1973: 148-49. Scholars now prefer to link “Ouranos” with Skt. *várḡman*, “height, peak”.

45 *Ad caput amnis, quod de caelo exoritur sub solio Iovis* (*Trin.* 940, no equivalent in the meager remains of Philemo *Thesaurus* fr. 32-33 PCG).

46 Schmitt 1967: 44-46 §§70-73m, 221-36 §§453-86; Pisani 1969: 361-62.

47 *Πέτομαι* has various catachrestic uses in Homer, being applied to the motion of horses (*Il.* 5.366, etc.), men (13.755, etc.), and spears (20.99).

48 The Greek phrase is in *Il.* 9.413, Hes. fr. 70.5 Merkelbach-West, Sappho fr. 44.4 Lobel-Page, Voigt, Ibycus I 47 *PMG* = S151.47 *PMGF*, anon. fr. 2.1 Hansen, *CEF*; the Sanskrit phrase is in *RV* 1.9.7, 1.40.4, 8.103.5, 9.66.7. See Edwards 1988, with bibl. Other possible traces of PIE verse have been found, e.g., in *ἱερὸν μένος* (*Od.* 7.167)/ *iṣiréna mánasá* (*RV* 8.48.7; Duchesne-Guillemin 1937), *δωτῆρες ἑάων* (*Od.* 8.325; Hes. *Theog.* 46)/ *dātá vásúnām* (*RV* 8.51.5), and the *reductio ad absurdum* of the genre, *ὀρθὸς ὁμείχειν* (Hes. *Op.* 727)/ *ūrdhvó meksyāmi* (*AV* 7.10.2): see Durante 1976: 2.94-95.

49 From the root *gam* with the prefix *pari*, which is cognate with *πέρι*.

50 For rivers as birds, see *RV* 2.28.4; for birds flying “in the air” (*antárikṣe*, *antárikṣepa*), see *RV* 1.25.7ab, 10.80.5c. K. Hoffmann apud Schmitt 1967: 224 n. 1313.

51 Wherever, indeed: cf. Forston 2004: 35-44, and Mallory and Adams 2006: 442-63.

52 See chapter 1 note 32 above.

53 Van der Plas 1986: 1.71-73 on *Hymn to the Nile* I §7-8.

54 J. A. Wilson trans., apud Pritchard 1969: 371. The original text is printed in Davies 1908: pl. XXVII cols. 9-10. Lüders ([1951] 1959: 1.140-43) quotes this passage as well as *RV* 2.28.4, but neither Treu (1958), who rejects his view of *διπτετής*, nor Schmitt (1967) and Pisani (1969), who accept it, makes mention of it (but see Humbach 1967: 277; Zudini 1975-76: 22 n. 51).

55 Ions 1965: 42. Another barque (*mskt*) carries Ra through the other world at night.

56 Αἰγύπτιοι φασιν οὐρανόνθεν ρεῖν, Schol. *Od.* 4.477 [= 216 Dindorf].

57 Bronze heaven: *Il.* 17.425, Pind. *Nem.* 6.3-4; iron heaven: *Od.* 15.329 = 565. It seems a mere accident that the horses of Helios are not mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We meet them in *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 69, *Hymn.* 28.14, 31.9, 15, Mimnermus fr. 12.3 West, *Theog.* 997-98, Bacchyl. 11.10, etc. They figure in visual art perhaps as early as the mid-seventh century and consistently from the late sixth century onward: see Savignoni 1899: 264; Haspels 1936: 120-24; Coldstream 1965: 36. The Phaethon story, which involves the car, predates Hesiod (fr. 311 Merkelbach-West). Helios' barque: Stesichorus 185 *PMG* = S17 *PMGF*, Aesch. fr. 69 Radt, Mimnermus fr. 12 West, Pherecydes 3 F 118 *FGrHist.*) Carena (1962: 31) compares Helios' cup with the barques of Ra.

58 Earth viewed from above: cf. Ar. *Av.* 46-48, Pl. *Phd.* 110B; on Delos: βροτοῖ/ Δᾶλον κικλήσκοισιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τηλέφατον/ κυανέας χθονὸς ἀστρὸν Pind. fr. 33c.3-5 Maehler; cf. *Paeon* 6.126. Wilamowitz' *ipsissima verba* are, “die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet.” Cf. De Vries 1956: 445. The idea of the earth and sky as mutual reflections is enhanced by the perception of the epic poets that the sky is not a dome (as in later cosmological thinking; see note 91 below) but rather is as flat as the earth and parallel to it (see West 1966: 198 ad Hes. *Theog.* 127).

59 Draco: ποτάμῳ ρεῖοντι ἑοικώς, Hes. fr. 293 Merkelbach-West; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.245; the constellation Ποταμός (Aratus *Phaen.* 358-60); identified with Eridanus: Hes. *Theog.* 338, etc.; identified with Nile: Schol. Aratus *Phaen.* 359 [= 254-55 Martin]. The presence of water in the heavens is further suggested by the fact that part of the sky was occupied by aquatic constellations: Capricorn, Cetus, Pisces, Aquarius, and Argo; see Rudhardt 1971: 79-80. Babylonian astronomers were familiar with a river (= halo?) around the moon; (see Gelb 1964-: XI.1.376, s.v. *nāru* 3b), and Babylonian myth speaks of waters above the sky (*Enûma elish* IV 137-40 [= p. 67 *ANET*³]; see Barton 1890-93: 2

and Heidel 1951: 42; cf. Genesis 1:6-7, 7:11, II Kings 7:2, 19, Psalms 104:3, 13, 148:4, Revelation 4:6.

60 Hsch. s.v. Ὠκεανοῖο πόρον· τὸν ἄερα, εἰς ὃν αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν τελευτώντων ἀποχωροῦσιν.

61 *Il.* 16.174. The statement at 14.309 that Hera goes to the home of deep-flowing Ocean is appropriate in part to the anthropomorphic, in part to the naturalistic conception of the god. Fowler (1987: 122 n. 46) writes that “the imaginative power of the ancients which enabled them to see the person behind the phenomenon cannot be underestimated.”

62 Rivers live in houses: *Il.* 14.202, Hes. *Theog.* 777, Verg. *Aen.* 8.65, Ov. *F.* 5.661, *Met.* 8.560; gather in assembly: *Il.* 20.4; ride in chariots: [Aesch.] *PV* 132.

63 Cf. Ibycus 323 *PMGF*, Pind. *Nem.* 1.1, Paus. 5.7.2-3, Verg. *Ecl.* 10.1, *Aen.* 3.694-95; cf. Coleridge, *Kubla Khan*, “where Alph, the sacred river, ran/ through caverns measureless to man/ down to a sunless sea”.

64 Ancient commentators associated the anonymous river of the simile in which the phrase occurs at *Il.* 17.263 with the Nile. Leaf 1902: 2.235 ad *Il.* 17.263.

65 Note that Σπερχειοῖο (*Il.* 16.174) is metrically equivalent to Αἰγυπτοῖο.

66 As Leumann (1950: 311) argued.

67 Janssen 1987: 129 nn. 1-2, with bibl.

68 Thales 11 A 16 Diels-Kranz, Hecataeus 1 F 302 *FGrHist.*, Hdt. 2.19-27. On Egypt as the gift of the river: 2.5.

69 γνώριμον ἦν τὸ πάθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ποιητῇ, 1.2.30.

70 ἀψόρροος: *Il.* 18.399; *Od.* 20.65; the definition is from LSJ s.v.

71 *Il.* 21.194-97; Hes. *Theog.* 337-38.

72 “Venu des pluies” or “venu de Zeus”.

73 *Od.* 14.257-58.

74 Such syntax is not unparalleled; cf. καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο, *Il.* 6.449 = [8.552].

75 He offers a parallel at 17.425-27: ὃς [Ζεὺς] μ’ ἄμα ληϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισιν ἀνήκεν/ Αἰγυπτὸν δ’ [i.e. “to Egypt”] ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ὄφρ’ ἀπολοίμην./ στήσα δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ [i.e. “the Nile”] νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

76 *Il.* 6.34.

77 обильно орошасмый.

78 *PT* 263 § 340d, 359 § 594b etc.; *CT* 18, etc., *BD* 99.

79 “Milky Way” = *mst*, *PT* 254 § 279, etc.; *CT* 259, etc.; *BD* 66 § 15, etc. Cf. Faulkner 1985: 90.

80 See, e.g. Frodsham 1970: 45. I thank Neil McCartney for bringing this to my notice.

81 Lucian *Ver. hist.* 1.9-10; cf. Antonius Diogenes apud Phot. *Bibl.* 111a. While apotheosized Romans travelled by road (Varro, *Men.* 560B; Sen. *Apoc.* 1.2).

82 Ghosts tell the truth if properly fed: *Od.* 11.95-96. I will argue in Chapter Three below that this idea stems from an Egyptian source, the *tp di nsw.t* formula, meaning “der König sei gnädig und gebe,” Erman and Grapow 1971: 3.186. Helios owns cattle: *Od.* 11.108-109, cf. 1.8-9, 12.127-41. These number 350 (*Od.* 12.129-30), the days of the year reckoned in a septimal system (= 7 × 50). His Egyptian counterpart has seven cows (*BD* 148), the sarcophagus of Chensuemrenpa in the Munich Museum shows the solar barque drawn by four beasts called, “white cows of the sun-god” (*s3t dḥw n R*). See Lauth 1867: 4-5, and Sayed et al. 1980: 357-390. Uṣas’ car is also drawn by ruddy kine (*RV*

1.92.2, 124.11, and 5.80.3). Oars are the “wings for ships”: *Od.* 11.125 = 23.272. For Homer’s noun-epithet formulae for “ships”, see Parry 1971: 109-113, and Alexanderson 1970 (neither mentions the oar-wings). For relative pronoun + τε, see Ruijgh 1971: 358-452; πέλονται is here used *metri causa* for the syntactically correct πέλεται.

83 Stanford 1936: 135 calls it one of Homer’s “first undoubtedly imaginative metaphors”.

84 Aesch. *Pers.* 559, *Supp.* 716; cf. the LH IIIC stirrup-jar from Scyros shown in Boardman 1974: 107. For other illustrations of ships, see Casson 1975, with bibl. Egyptians sometimes painted the wd3.t (magic eye of Horus) on the prows of barques and blades of steering-oars.

85 Ships rejoicing in the wind: *Od.* 5.176; speaking: Aesch. fr. *20 Radt; Pherecydes 3 F 111a *FGrHist.*; Ap. Rhod. 1.526, 4.580-83; Catull. 4.2. See Kurt 1979, and Henderson 1991: 161-166 = §§ 258-278.

86 Indo-Europeans brought horses to Greece (Vermeule 1964: 261). Skt. *ásva*; Linear B *i-qo* (KN Ca 895, etc.); Greek ἵππος, ἵκκος (*Etym. Magn.* 474.12); Ltn. *equus*, etc. all derive from a common **ekwos* (the aspirate was confined to Attic [Aul. Gell. 2.3.2], cf. Γλαύκιππος, Λεύκιππος); also Linear B *po-ro* = πῶλος (KN 82). Despite the later fame of Egypt’s cavalry (*Il.* 9.382-384; Genesis 47:17; Exodus 9:3, 14:9, etc.), she had no horses before the Hyksos period, when she named them *ssm.t* (< Semitic; cf. Hebrew *sūš*).

87 ἀλὸς ἵπποι: *Od.* 4.708; cf. Old Norse *brims blakkr* and Old English *sæhengest*, *sæmearh*; flotsam as race-horse: κέληθ’ ὥς ἵππον ἐλαύνων, 5.371; Phaeacians’ ship as chariot: 13.81-83.

88 Poseidon tames horses: *Il.* 23.277, etc.; Poseidon as sea-god: 15.187-93, etc.; Trojan horse (*Od.* 4.271-89, 8.499-520, 11.523-32) like a ship: Van Leeuwen 1901, and Bethe 1914-27: 3.36 n. 5.

89 Oars: Aesch. *Supp.* 734, *Pers.* 559, *Ag.* 52; etc.; sails: [Hes.] fr. 205.7 Merkelbach-West; etc.; ambiguous: Hes. *Op.* 628; Eur. *Tro.* 1085.

90 Chantraine 1928: 24.

91 Near East: e.g. *Enûma eliš* IV 137-40 [= p. 67 *ANET*³]; Genesis 1:6-7, 7:11-12; II Kings 7:2, 19; Psalms 104:3, 13, 148:4; Revelation 4:6; Egypt: cf. *mr n3*, *ḫym p.t.*

92 A celestial ocean may lie in the distant background of Greek cosmology, for the *R̥gveda* speaks of one (10.98.5, 12); cf. Nagy 1990: 99. Greeks saw the sky as a vault (Diogenes 64 A 12 Diels-Kranz; Cratinus fr. 167 *PCG*; Ar. *Nub.* 96, *Av.* 1000-1001) of bronze (*Il.* 17.425; Pind. *Nem.* 6.3-4) or iron (*Od.* 15.329 = 565).

93 *BD* 148 § 8.

94 On the Egyptian name: Wreszinski 1906: vol. 3, 2 pt., etc.; on the Greek: Hdt. 2.63; Diod. Sic. 1.15.3.

95 For geese associated with Amun, see Guglielmi and Dittmar 1992. For Egyptian offering-tables, see Habachi 1977. Despite the prominence of altars in their religion, Greeks too used offering-tables, esp. in Mycenaean times; see Gill 1991, and Cox 1996.

96 Bleeker 1967: 78.

97 See Chapter Four below.

98 Many surviving shrines are published in Roeder 1914. For Amenhotep’s dedicatory inscriptions, see Breasted 1906: 2.357-359 §§ 886, 888. For the festival itself, see Wolf 1931: 72-73, and The Epigraphic Survey 1994. The Amun-priesthood was divided into four watches (*s3w*, φυλαί) suggestively called “the bow, stern, port, and

starboard watches" (*imy-wrt*, etc.).

99 II Samuel 6:1-5.

100 Numbers 10:35, etc.

101 Noah's ark: Genesis 6:14; Moses' chest: Exodus 2:3; also the bars in a piece of music.

102 *Kebra nagast* ch. 48, etc. Ullendorff 1956: 233 n. 6.

103 Koehler and Baumgartner 1994-: 4.1677-78 s.v. *tebah*.

104 Steindorff 1903: 2.5 n.16, etc.

105 E.g. Bruce 1790: 1.394-95.

106 Morgan Brown 1978: 644. Ships are also depicted on a ring from Mochlos and a ring from Makrygialos on Crete; see Sourvinou-Inwood 1989.

107 Pind. *Pyth.* 4.42-43; Ap. Rhod. 4.1731-64; cf. Hdt. 4.179.

108 Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.16, 9.51, fr. 36, 58 Maehler. Assuming that Amun indeed = Ammon; see Classen 1959.

109 *Il.* 5.5-6; cf. Hes. *Op.* 417. Astronomy was central to the Homeric world-view, see *Il.* 18.483-89; cf. Wenskus 1990: 33-40. Nevertheless Homer devotes scant space to the subject; see J. B. Hainsworth ad *Od.* 5.272-77 in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 1.276-77, with bibl.

110 *Il.* 4.406; *Od.* 11.263; Linear B *te-qa* MY X 50.

111 Zeus = Amun: cf. Hdt. 2.42.5; on Rhadamanthys and his oaths, see section 1.6.3 above; "by goose!" = νῆ/ μὰ τὸν χῆνα, Cratinus fr. 249 PCG; Ar. *Av.* 521; Zenobius 5.81; "by Zeus!" = νῆ/ μὰ τὸν Ζῆνα; see Thompson 1936: 329; the ἱερός γάμος: *Il.* 14.346-50, which is alluded to in Diod. Sic. 1.97.9.

112 Panathenaea: Strattis fr. 30 CAF; *IG* 2² 657.14 = *Syll.*³ 374; *IG* 2² 3198 = *Syll.*³ 894; Himer. *Orat.* 3.12; Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 1.10.1; etc.; and Norman 1983; Smyranean Dionysia: Philostr. *VS* 1.25.1; Aristides *Or.* 15 (= 1.373 Dindorf), 22 (= 1.440 Dindorf); Burkert 1985: 166 and 413 n. 38, with bibl.; Delian Apollo-festival: Aesch. *Sept.* 856-60; Bacchyl. *Dithyramb* 17.130-31; etc.

113 The ship sent to Delos: cf. Pl. *Phd.* 58A10-C1; Plut. *Thes.* 23.1; the ship of Theseus: Simon. 550 PMG; Bacchyl. 17.1ff. Pan is sometimes shown as animal-headed (e.g. on the Attic red-figure name-vase of the Pan Painter in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts).

114 *Il.* 6.86-98, 263-310; Alcman 1.61 PMG, PMGF = 3.61 Calame; Paus. 3.16.2, 5.16.3. For Bronze-Age robe-offerings to a goddess (not, however, involving ships), cf. Linear B *te-o-po-ri-ja* (i.e. θεοφορία, CN Ga 1058; *Od* 696) with Hiller 1984. Frescoes from Thera and Tiryns seem to show such a rite; see Boulotis 1979, and Peterson 1981.

115 Boardman 1958.

116 Verg. *Aen.* 6.19; cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.228; for the inversion, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 52; Eur. *IT* 289; Ap. Rhod. 2.1255, etc. It occurs in Verg. *Aen.* also at 1.300-301.

117 Paus. 9.11.4-5; Diod. Sic. 4.77.6.

118 On the subtlety and erudition of Vergil's literary allusions, see e.g. Schlunk 1974; on the Phoenician background to Daedalus: Morris 1992: 150-94. Elements of his story suggest an Egyptian source, esp. the "labyrinth" built by Ammenemes III at Hawarêt el-Mata' in the Fayoum (Hdt. 2.148); cf. Armayor 1985, with bibl.

119 See now Darnell et al. 2005, with further bibl.

120 Papyrus rigging: ὄπλον. . . βύβλινον, *Od.* 21.390-91; oxhide rigging: βοεύς, 2.426, 12.423; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 407; cf. Cato *agr.* 3.5, 12, 63; papyrus came from Egypt: cf. Hdt. 2.35, 7.25, 34; Hermippus fr. 63.12-13 PCG, pace Eustath. 1913.28 ad *Od.*

21.390-91; see Lewis 1974: 12, 24-26.

121 Gods brook no contact with the dead: Aesch. *Sept.* 217-18; Eur. *Alc.* 22, *Hipp.* 1437-38; Plut. *Ant.* 75.3-4; or with graves: Thuc. 3.104.1; Polyb. 8.30; Paus. 1.43.3; theft of the Palladium: Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 2.166; Sil. Ital. 13.36-50, which recalls a Roman *evocatio*.

122 Pl. *Phd.* 58B; Xen. *Mem.* 4.8.2.

123 ¹[^u*tamkā*]ru (dam.gà)r) na-áš ki-si ina e-de-e tu-še-zib/ ×[×]× a-rid ^dza-nun-ze-e tu-ša-áš-kan kap-pa, lines 69-70; Lambert 1960: 130-31 (*ANET*³ 387-89 also gives the text, but omits the line in question because it is fragmentary), quoted by West 1978: 315 ad Hes. *Op.* 625; cf. West 1997: 79.

124 Argo is well known: *Od.* 12.70; on the Planctae: there are no clashing rocks in the *Pyramid Texts*, but “it flies, it alights” sails between a pair of doors that open to receive it (246 § 255) and then close to shut out the plebs (373 § 655) like the “gate of heaven” (*ša’ar haššāmāim*) of Genesis 28:17 or the pillars of Heracles; cf. Gwyn Griffiths 1966-67, Hornung et al. 1979, 1980; Colchis is Egyptianesque: Hdt. 2.104-105, and Hecataeus says that the Argonauts returned from Colchis via the Nile (1 F 18a *FGrHist*); see Armayor 1978, and Lloyd 1993: 3.21-22; Aeetes: *Od.* 10.138; Helios’ bedroom: Mimnermus fr. 11a West; Argonauts and Phrixus’ soul: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.159—for the “laying” of ghosts in Homer, see *Il.* 23.65-74 (Patroclus) and *Od.* 12.10-15 (Elpenor)—; Argo = doves: *Od.* 12.61-65; cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.549-77, cf. *Gilgamesh* XI 146-54 [= pp. 94-95 *ANET*³]; Genesis 8:6-12 with Lindsay 1965: 13-14; Burgess 1999 compares the *Epic of Gilgamesh* with the *Odyssey*; flying Argo: Eur. *Med.* 1, cf. *Andr.* 861-65; Theoc. 13.24, cf. Ennius fr. 103 Jocelyn; constellation Argo: Aratus *Phan.* 342-52; Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 35; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.44.

125 Phaeacians are ἀρχιθῆοι, *Od.* 5.35, cf. 7.205-206; the Apologue = books 9-12; see Segal 1962 = 1994: 12-64.

126 Mist: *Od.* 8.568 = 13.150, 176, cf. 189; the Grey Men: cf. Procop. *Goth.* 4.20.48-58; Tzetz. ad Hes. *Op.* 171 and ad Lyc. 1204.

127 Odysseus will be asleep: *Od.* 7.318; he falls asleep: 13.79-80; see Schwartz 1924: 189 and 226, Merkelbach 1969: 211, and Cook 1992: 245 follow Welcker in seeing this sleep as a sign that Phaeacians are ferry-men of death; Phaeacians ferried Rhadamanthys: 7.323, who lives in Elysium: 4.564; Epirus is chthonic: an Epirote priest showed Hammond (1967: 163) where the river Acheron plunges into Hell; Βαϊάκη: St. Byz. s.v. = Hecataeus 1 F 104 *FGrHist*.

128 Phaeacians are unfriendly: *Od.* 7.32-33; Odysseus curses them: 13.200-214; see Rose 1969.

129 J. B. Hainsworth in Heubeck et al. 1988: 1.289, and Garvie 1994: 21, with bibl.

130 *Od.* 13.86-87.

131 Garvie 1994: 83.

132 *Od.* 6.10.

133 Cf. νηῦς ᾗ θοή, 24.299, also a hapax.

134 *Il.* 1.43-47, 194-95, 359-61; Dietrich 1983.

135 Zeus: e.g., Ar. *Pax* 42; Dionysus: e.g., Soph. *Ant.* 964; Pan: e.g., Eur. *Med.* 1172.

136 On the term “cletic hymn”: Men. Rhet. 334.25-336.4; some examples: carm. pop. 871.1 *PMG*; Sappho fr. 1.5, 25, 2.1 Lobel-Page, Voigt; Anacreon 357.7 *PMG* = fr. 14.7 Gentili; Pl. *Leg.* 712B; Revelation 22:20; involving magic vehicles: Sappho fr. 1.8-9 Lobel-Page, Voigt. West (1978: 366-68, 384) suggests that αἰγύροχος (*Il.* 2.375, etc.)

means “drawn by goats or snipes”.

137 At *Rhaguvansa* 16.68. The name for this vehicle, *vimāna* comes to denote the central tower covering the shrine in a Hindu temple.

138 Sea-side prayers: *Il.* 1.34, 348-51; *Od.* 2.26-61; Pind. *Ol.* 1.71-73, 6.58; shipboard epiphanies: e.g., *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 2, etc.; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 388-451.

139 *Il.* 6.269-78.

140 Temples as adyta: *Il.* 5.448, etc. Hewitt 1909.

141 Payne 1940: 1.34-35; Gruben 1966: 28, fig. 23. It is, however, possible, that these were models of the dedicators' houses rather than of temples (see Markman 1957: 1.259-71; Schattner 1990; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 64, 86, 202, with figs. 499, 500, 507).

142 Exodus 33:7, etc.

143 Cf. Plut. *Num.* 14.4; Lucian *De Domo* 6. E.g., the sun rose between the two central columns of the Athenian Parthenon's east façade on its foundation-date, 27 Hecatombaion (= 31 August) 488, though due to precession this effect is now seen on 23 August; see Dinsmoor 1939: 119-23.

144 3.1 (nt) n, P. Abbott 2.2; *The Great Harris P.* 3.6. Erman and Grapow 1971: 1.17; Faulkner 1962: 5.

145 Badawy 1964; Trimble 1964 = 1992: 3-8.

146 Magnetite: Soph. fr. 800 *TrGF*, etc., cf. Manetho fr. 79 Waddell = Plut. *Mor.* 376B; iron: *Il.* 4.123, *Od.* 1.184, etc., cf. *PT* 21 §13-14 = Manetho loc. cit. Iron artifacts have been found dating back to 3,000, long before the “Iron Age”; it is clear from their high nickel-content ($\approx 7.5\%$) that this iron was from fallen meteors. For Egypt, see Devéria 1872: 2.339-56; for Greece, see Gray 1954 and Bassiakos et al. 1988, with bibl. Meteors themselves were βαίτυλοι (Dam. *Isid.* 94.203; *SEG* 7.341 [Dura, iii A.D.]) < Semitic *bāḥ ʿĒl* (Genesis 28:19), a term related to *bāḥ-Yhwh*. Knowledge of magnetism is perhaps implied in αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδερος (*Od.* 16.249).

147 Arkwright (whose work I have not been able to see) suggested that the περίπλοος perhaps lent its form to the Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* 2.484-759; cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 168. On portolanos, see Haggood 1979.

148 Nighttime travel: *Od.* 2.434, 15.34, 16.364-69. Cook 1995: 114, pace Fenik 1974: 213; bearings by stars: *Od.* 5.272-77.

149 On *Od.* 5.272-77, see Wenskus 1990: 38; on the Alaschia amphora, see Wiesner 1968: 33. The double axe (λάβρυξ) represents the constellation's form.

150 Hesiod as merchant-seaman: Hes. *Op.* 618; his *Astronomia*: fr. 288-93 Merkelbach-West; Thales' star-guide: cf. Callim. *Iambi* 1, fr. 191 Pfeiffer verse 52 = 11 A 3a Diels-Kranz. Kirk, Raven and Schofield 1983: 84-88.

151 νηὸν ἑνασσάν, *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 298, Kiparsky 1967: 620; Rix 1976: 80 §3.6.2; Burkert 1985: 8 and 1992: 537; Sihler 1995: 185 §190.2. This is a common type of *figura etymologica* (cf. οἱ δ' ἰστὸν στήσαντ' . . . *Il.* 1.480, τέμενος τάμον 6.194).

152 I.e. *nau*, *nāvis*, and *nāu*; Sihler 1995: 340 §328; Nassivera 2000: 61.

153 Mycenaean acc. sg. *te-o*, PY Eb 297, etc.

154 *Il.* 11.805-8, etc. Haywood 1983, also citing *Il.* 24.253-57, *Od.* 3.286-89, 14.245-48; and Pl. *Crat.* 397D.

155 νηῦς . . . θοή: *Od.* 24.299, and often in the oblique cases; νηοῦς . . . θεῶν: *Od.* 6.20, cf. Diod. Sic. 5.5.2.

156 Cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 149; Heraclitus 22 B 64 Diels-Kranz; Zeus ὑψίζυγος: *Il.* 4.166, etc.; Schol. and Eustath., cf. θεός . . . κυβερνατήρ, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.274. For the image of *le dieu-pilote*, see Péron 1974, 121-37. For the meaning of ὑψίζυγος, see Fraenkel 1950:

2.109-10 ad *Ag.* 182-83.

157 E.g., Hdt. 3.59.3, 8.121.1; Eur. *Med.* 1386 with Schol. [= 2.213 Schwarz]; Thuc. 2.84.4, 92.5; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.8, 4.2.36.

158 For Mahaf see section 2.5 below; for Jesus, see Dölger 1910: 4; cf. Eisler 1921.

159 Luke 5:3, Matthew 16:18.

160 I.e. *nāvis*, cf. German *Schiff*, Dutch *schip*, Russian корабль. A similar semantic pairing is found in Old Norse *árin-kioli*, "hearth-keel," and *brand-nói*, "firebrand ship," both signifying "hall" (*Ynglinga-Tal* 21, 113).

161 Cf. Parry 1971: 128.

162 I.e. *M3-3.f*: *PT* 270 § 383 etc.; *CT* 396; *BD* 99 passim; variants are, *r.f-3.f*, "Whose face is behind": *ibid.*, *CT* 474 § 23c; *BD* 125; and *r.f-m-nt-r.f-m-3.f*, "Who looks before, who looks behind": *PT* 310 § 493b. Smith (1984: 197) translates *M3-3.f* as "The-Faculty-of-Sight-is-Behind-Him". His Assyrian counterpart is *umuṭ-tabal*, "Carry off, Quickly!"

163 *BD* 93 in the papyrus of Ani (plate 16 Wasserman); cf. *PT* 578 § 1535; Newberry 1929.

164 Faulkner 1985: 94 with plate; cf. the commentary by O. Goelet in Wasserman 1998: 163. The backward-glancing Mahaf appears also in the late 21st dyn. Pap. BM 10001; see Niwiński 1989: plate 40b. Another supernatural attendant of the deceased is described as "you the back of whose head is behind him," i.e. who looks straight ahead (*PT* 321 § 517) to distinguish him from Mahaf. See also Jacq 1986: 46-47.

165 *Minyas* fr. 1 Davies, Bernabé; Aesch. *Sept.* 856-60; Eur. *Alc.* 438-45; Ar. *Ran.* 180-208.

166 Charon's name appears to be an ordinary human one. The inscription preserved as Hansen 1983: 69, number 127 (Χαῖρε Χαρον. | οὐδὶς τυ κακς | λέγει οὐδὲ θανόντα. / πολὺς | ἀνθρώπον λυ|σάμενο<ν> | καμάτο) may refer to a physician, unless we are to read θανόντες for θανόντα. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1418b23) says that Archilochus fr. 19 West was spoken by Charon the carpenter. The name was also borne by the historian from Lampsacus (262 *FGrHist.*), a boar-hunter and a warrior (*LIMC* svv. Charon II and III). The name seems derived from χαροπός (Stanford 1958: 88 ad Ar. *Ran.* 180), an unflattering description of eye-colour (Maxwell-Stuart 1981b); so that in a very different way from Mahaf he too is distinguished by his gaze (Verg. *Aen.* 6.300, with Donatus ad loc., Dante *Inf.* 3.99, 109).

167 E.g. Trypanis 1951: 86-87 § 81. See Krüger 1866 and De Ruyt 1932. Homer's Thanatos is more like the stretcher-bearer from a field-hospital than a ferry-man. Cf. Lawson 1909: 98-117.

168 For Charon's skiff: Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 22, cf. *Men.* 10, *Dial Mort.* 10; for the Phaeacians' ship: *Od.* 13.76-78, 8.556-61.

169 Erman and Grapow 1971: 2.6 define *m3* as "das Hinterende. . . des Schiffes," while Jones 1988: 166-67 § 63 lists the meaning of *m3* as "unknown".

170 Vignette to *BD* 1 (plate 5 Wasserman).

171 Some animals, however, are regularly so portrayed; see Hermann 1932. There are also bicephalous figures who look Janus-like both back and front.

172 Schäfer 1974: plate 8.

173 *Berlin P.* 3027 recto i 9-ii 6 [= p. 328 *ANET*³]; *BD* 17 § 105.

174 *CT* 473 § 3c-d, etc.

175 For the cliché that death is the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns, cf. *Il.* 9.408-409; see further West 1966: 370 ad Hes. *Theog.* 769-73.

176 Wilkinson 1992: 130 figure 1.

177 Maspero 1902. On the coping-stone and its name, see Baines 1970.

178 Plut. *Mor.* 359C, 365E; Lafaye 1881 (I thank Cathy Jupp for this reference).

179 Sirius as Orion's guide: *PT* 443 § 822b, 477 § 965; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 370A; Sirius actually follows Orion: cf. Avienus *Aratea* 725; Krauss 1997: 151-56.

180 In B. A. van Groningen's memorable phrase; see Bettini 1991: 151-57.

181 They are, respectively: Athena, Hermes, Icarius, and Talus or Perdix; see Kleingünther 1933.

182 E.g. ἤριπε δ' ὥς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἤριπεν *Il.* 13.389, versus *e caddi, come corpo morto cade* Dante *Inf.* 5.142 or ξυνὸς Ἐνύαλιος καὶ τε κτανεόντα κατέκτα *Il.* 18.309 versus the New Testament πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀπολοῦνται Matthew 26.52; see Chantraine 1953: 184-87 § 272-75. *Il.* 18.309 (cf. Archil. fr. 110 West) and Matthew 26.52 are compared for their content by Weil 1953: 21.

183 E.g. Isaiah 30:8.

184 Gurney 1954: 127.

185 Hdt. 2.36.4; Gardiner 1957: 25, and Fischer 1997: 6 § 4. This normal convention is sometimes broken by "retrograde" writing, usually in mortuary texts.

186 *zp tpi*, cf. *PT* 338 § 551e; *BD* 9 § 1.

187 "God's-land" (*t3-ntr*) is the name of Punt (= modern Somalia) in reliefs in Hashepsowe's temple at Deir el-Bahri; see Breasted 1906: 2.102-122. At 2° N. latitude, Mogadishu experiences its longest period of daylight (of twelve hours) at the equinoxes, with but a small reduction at either solstice. Curiously, an equal share of day and night marked the just dispensation of the gods in Sicilian thought also (cf. Parmenides 28 B 9.3-4 Diels-Kranz; Pind. *Ol.* 2.61-62); cf. Woodbury 1966 = 1991: 151-167. I thank Laura Gagné for helpful discussion.

188 Sethe 1923.

189 ἄμμορ[οῖ]. . . λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο (*Il.* 18.489 = *Od.* 5.275) or κυανέου πεφυλαγμέναι Ὠκεανοῖο (*Arat. Phaen.* 48; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.246) in contrast to those λελουμέν[οι] Ὠκεανοῖο (*Il.* 5.6). For the Egyptian circumpolar stars, see Barta 1980.

190 *PT* 437 § 802a, 481 § 1000d, 519 §§ 1201-03, and 520 § 1222c. Osiris is perforce seen as a "perishable", i.e. non-circumpolar constellation, for death and resurrection are the core features of his myth. Foremost among the "imperishable" stars was the Big Dipper (Ursa Major = *Mstiw*), heavenly equivalent of the adze (also called *mstiw*) with which the living heir performed upon his late predecessor the ritual Opening of the Mouth, the last stage of mummification; see Wainwright 1932.

191 For the link between spatial and temporal orientation, cf. Austin 1975: 241.

192 Genesis 19:17, 26; cf. Luke 17:32. On the taboo against turning around, see Hainsworth in Heubeck et al. 1988: 1.283 ad *Od.* 5.350, with bibl. The taboo often involves necromancy, e.g. KUB, xxvii, 67 (iv 3) = *ANET*³ 348b and *Od.* 10.527-29, which is not what I am considering here. It is God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah that Lot and family must not see; I have scant sympathy with Pitt-Rivers' (1977: 136) view that they are to turn their backs on non-endogamous mating practices.

193 Orpheus as Argonaut: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.177; Ap. Rhod. 1.23-34; *pace* Pherecydes 3 F 26 *FGrHist.*; as fisher of souls: cf. ὀρφεύς, "great sea perch", Marcellus Sidetes 33; turned back too soon: Verg. *G.* 4.489-90.

194 Cf. Gilgamesh, who rejects Ištar, *Gilgamesh* VI 22-78 [= p. 84 *ANET*³], and Hittite heroes who shun Šauška. See Güterbock 1983, and Crane 1988: 63-85, cited with

approval in Morris 1997: 617 n. 63. Cf. West 1997: 411-12. On Šauška, see Gurney 1954: 135; Hippolytus rejects Ištar's Greek counterpart, Aphrodite, but in a different sense.

195 *Od.* 5.382-87.

196 So Shay 1994: 51 interprets Thetis' appearance to Achilles in *Iliad* 19.

197 Ino "shares the lot of the gods": *Od.* 5.334; the Isthmian games honour Palaemon: Alcman 50(b) *PMG*, *PMGF* = 124 Calame, etc.

198 *Od.* 5.346-47. Homeric veils—translucent (*Il.* 14.185), sleek (*Od.* 1.334), revealing (18.210-13)—were perhaps of wild silk, which would explain why Ino's is an immortal talisman, for coming from a pupa (νεκύδαλος, lit. "little corpse", *Ar. Hist. An.* 5.19.6), the moth (ψυχή, lit. "soul") symbolically overcomes death; see Bremmer 1983a: 82. Bronze-Age Aegeans used silk (Panagiotakopulu et al., 1997) like Egyptians (Lubec et al., 1993) and Israelites (cf. *mešī*, Ezekiel 16:13).

199 *PT* 696 § 2163 Jacq 1986: 69. At *PT* 334 the deceased proudly declares that he has not had to pay a fare; at *CT* 5 § 154c says that it has been prepaid for him.

200 αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι, 350, cf. 458-462. See Gow 1952: 2.430 ad Theoc. 24.96, and Hunter 1989: 214 ad Ap. Rhod. 3.1038-41, who cites Teufel 1939: 188-204.

201 *Od.* 11.602-604; contrast *Il.* 18.117-19; cf. ἥρωας θεός, of Heracles at Pind. *Nem.* 3.22; cf. Hdt. 2.44. For an oriental origin for Heracles, see e.g. Burkert 1979: 80-83; and Merkelbach 1977: 77-83.

202 Hellenistic thought: e.g. Theoc. 13.72, of Hylas; cf. Nymphis [lived c. 310-245] 432 F 5 *FGrHist*, of Bormus; Diod. Sic. 5.55.4-7 of Halia/ Leucothea and 5.62 of Molpadia/ Hemitheia; Christian thought: Colossians 2:12. On Hadrian's boyfriend, Antinous, see Lambert 1984.

203 *sntri* (= ἀποθεοῦν): *PT* 33 § 24d, 364 § 615d, 423 § 766d; cf. the Shabaka stone = *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie* 8, 11a. Gwyn Griffiths 1970: 34, and 1980: 107-113, with bibl.

204 Only priests buried those drowned: Hdt. 2.90; Ἑσιῆς: *JDAI* 32 [1917] 201 [Memphis]; *PGM* 3.1, 4.875, 5.269, etc.; cf. Tertullian *de bapt.* 5) < Coptic (Sahidic) ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲉ, "drowned person" (Smith 1983: 71) < Egyptian *sii*, "praised, favoured"; Osiris in a floating chest: Plut. *Mor.* 356C. Holley 1949: 42-47.

205 Riffaterre 1978: 164-65.

206 Proof of Phoenician origin for the tale that Cadmus came from Phoenicia seeking Europa is that both names are transparently Semitic with appropriate Greek endings added, namely *qdm*, "in front," hence "east" and *rb*, "to go down (of the sun, etc.)," hence "west".

207 μᾶζα: Paus. 3.23.8; *massāh*: Genesis 19:3, etc. On the Semitic origin of Ino, see Astour 1967: 204-212, with bibl. On Melqart, see Bonnet 1988: 203-236; on μᾶζα see Olson 1998: 67-68 ad Ar. *Pax* 1, with bibl.; on its relation to *massāh*, see Brown 1995: 337. Classicists follow Archil. fr. 2 West in deriving it from μάσσω, but formal and semantic arguments tell against this, as I argue in Griffith (forthcoming). On Ino's cult, see Burkert 1983a: 206 n. 11. Μᾶζα is made from barley-flour (ἄλφιτα) as ἄρτος is from wheat-flour (ἄλευρα). Ino's link to barley is made clear by her third name, Byne ("brewer's malt"; see section 8.3 below). One might object to the Melqart/ Melicertes equation that Herodotus equates Melqart with Heracles (2.44, cf. Menander 783 F 1 *FGrHist*), but West see 1997: 58. His name, which means *Melk-qart*, "king of the city,"

is apt for a baby hurled to his death, cf. Ἄστυάναξ.

208 Ino as aunt of Dionysus: Hdt. 2.42.2, etc. Aegean words for wine: cf. Latin *vinum* (a loan-word, the native term being *tementum*, whence *tementulus* and *abstemius*), Ugaritic *yn*, Hebrew *yayān*, Ge'ez *wayn*; the Egyptian word, however, is *irp*.

209 The phrase *saeva noverca* is Vergil's (*G.* 2.128), but the theme inveterate (cf. Hdt. 4.154.2); see West 1978: 363 ad Hes. *Op.* 825. For stepmothers trying to kill stepsons, see Juv. 6.627-28.

210 The Delphic oracle: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1 = § 196 Parke-Wormell [not in Fontenrose's catalogue]; cf. Hdt. 7.197; the swimming ram: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.161; see Robertson 1940, and on the sacrifice, Hughes 1991: 92-96.

211 *Od.* 4.569-70.

212 Pind. *Ol.* 2.68-83; Eur. *Bacch.* 1329-40.

213 Achilles with Diomedes: *carmen popolare* 894 *PMG*, Achilles with Medea: Ibycus 291 = Simon. 558 *PMG*.

214 This sort of thing is not without parallel. Just so did Buxtehude get his organist's job at Lübeck.

215 But cf. *Od.* 1.386-87.

216 *Od.* 11.271-80.

217 On Greek patriarchy, see Wohl 1993. Finkelberg's view has been refined by Westbrook 2005: 15-16 as "the devolution of a dowry".

218 *Il.* 16.173-92, 22.467-72; *Od.* 8.313-20, 16.386-92. Lacey 1966.

219 For education, see Robbins 1993; for pederasty, see Bremmer 1990; for exposure, see Redford 1967b.

220 Boys and their mothers: *Il.* 1.359-61; Pind. *Ol.* 1.46, *Pyth.* 4.186, 8.85; Neoptolemus and Lycomedes: *Il.* 19.321-27; Odysseus and Autolycus: *Od.* 19.392-412; cf. *Il.* 11.221-28. Bremmer 1976, 1983b, and 1999; Robbins 1993: 11-12.

221 Duby 1978: 6; I thank Curtis Nadj for this reference.

222 *Il.* 9.565-72; Soph. *Ant.* 908-913; Arist. *Rhet.* 1417a.29-33; Eur. *Med.* 1333-35; but cf. Hdt. 3.119. Golden 1990: 121-35.

223 Manetho 609 F 8 [p. 86] *FGrHist.*; cf. Hdt. 2.128. On legitimization of power, see Otto 1969 and Baines 1995.

224 Noone knows his own father: *Od.* 1.215-16; cf. Men. *Carch.* fr. 227 Koerte = 2 Sandbach; Heracles' conception: [Hes.] *Scut.* 27-56; Hashepsowe: Breasted 1906: 2.80, Amenhotep III: Campbell 1912: 25, a portion of which I quote in section 4.4.3 below. The Egyptian myth perhaps influenced the Greek; see Burkert 1965: 167-69 = English version, 2001: 97-110.

225 *P. Chester Beatty I*, recto. Köhler 1972: 19, Leach 1976: 2. The text is translated in Lichtheim 1976: 2.214-23.

226 Sander-Hansen 1940, Troy 1986: 102-114, Ward 1986: 10, and Robins 1993.

227 Cf. the "Donation" stela from Amun's temple at Karnak; Gitton 1976: 71.

228 Petrie 1906: 137, with figure 144[2]. The vase-inscription calls her "Great royal wife, daughter of a great royal wife, royal mother, Aahmes Nefertari, living for ever".

229 *KUB A iii* 1-24; Güterbock 1965: 94-95.

230 *EA* 26. See e.g. Redford 1967a: 71, and Ratié 1979: 16, 23-31, and Moran 1987: 84-85. For a recent discussion of Egyptian Kingship, see the studies in O'Connor and Silverman 1995.

231 Černý 1954.

232 Cf. Hdt. 3.53.3. I thank Gregory Nagy for this reference; cf. Robins 1999: 172.

- 233 Aesch. *Supp.* 387-96, 931-32; MacKinnon 1978: 78.
 234 Ager 2005.
 235 Arthur 1982: 77, Mayer 1996.
 236 *Il.* 1.404; Slatkin 1991: 53-82.
 237 Faraone and Teeter 2004.
 238 West 1966: 37. There were at any given time only twelve Olympians (Pind. *Ol.* 5.5, 10.49, etc.). An altar to them stood in the Athenian agora; see Travlos 1971: 458-61, with bibl.
 239 Hdt. 6.61. Zeus' other divine daughters are virgins. Heracles is no threat to Zeus, since he owes his presence on Olympus to Zues-given apotheosis. The other inhabitant of Elysium named in the *Odyssey*, Rhadamanthus, is Zeus' son by Europa.
 240 Kullmann 1956.
 241 Weather-report on Elysium: *Od.* 4.561-70; on Olympus: 6.41-46; Lucr. 3.18-22.

Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 *Aber das Wehende höre,/ die ununterbrochene Nachricht,/ die aus Stille sich bildet./ Es rauscht jetzt von jenen jungen/ Toten zu dir*, first *Duino Elegy* lines 59-61.
 2 The barbarian: Strab. 14.2.8; language of gods: Hes. *Theog.* 831, *Il.* 1.403-404, etc., *Od.* 10.305, etc., Pl. *Phdr.* 252C; language of animals: Isoc. *Paneg.* 48; animals with human speech: *Il.* 19.404-17, Numbers 22:28-31; Melampus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11-12; Palamedes: Hyg. *Fab.* 277.1.
 3 On this concept, see Solmsen 1954: 1.1-15. As the English idiom has it, "dead men tell no tales"; cf. Bjork 1994.
 4 Ajax: *Od.* 11.541-64; Dido: Verg. *Aen.* 6.450-76; Sigelos: 9.2.10.
 5 Antip. Sid. *Anth. Pal.* 7.467.7 [= 532-39 Gow-Page, *HE*], Catull. 96.1, 101.4, Tib. 2.6.34, Prop. 2.1.77.
 6 Eur. *Alc.* 1144-46. Betts 1965 compares the Roman custom of ostracizing those pronounced dead in error.
 7 Theogn. 1229-30; Athen. 547A; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 167-80.
 8 Wickersham 1986.
 9 E.g. Pind. *Ol.* 14.20-24; Segal 1985.
 10 Rohde 1925: 56; and Nilsson 1950: 621.
 11 *Od.* 11.96: τοῖ νημερτέα εἶπω.
 12 Land of the blessed: Eur. *Bacch.* 1339; island(s) of the blessed: Hes. *Op.* 171, etc.
 13 *BD* 15.
 14 *PT* 260 §316.
 15 Allen 2000: 95; cf. φωνὴ ἀληθείας (of an amulet worn by Isis), Plut. *Mor.* 378B.
 16 Gardiner 1957: 50-51 §55. See also Devéria 1870 = 1897: 2.281-95; and Erman and Grapow 1971: 2.15-18.
 17 So too Vermeule 1979: 73; Bernal 1987, 1991: 1.61. An alternative Egyptian etymon for the same Greek word, viz. *m ṛ*, "happy, blessed," is proposed by Hemmerdinger 1968: 240; but Pierce's (1971: 105) question, "How does one account for the kappa in the Greek stem?" remains unanswered. A Semitic etymology is proposed by Rendsburg 1989: 80, a Pelasgian claim for the word by Furnée 1979: 33.
 18 Curtius 1875: 1.198 (= 161 German ed.) proposes μακρός, but there is scant similarity of sense between the two words; yet worse is van Windekens 1986: 148, who derives it from μᾶσσω, "knead" and Κάρ, "head", arguing that one with a well-formed face

is blessed.

19 *BD* 95 §3, etc.

20 The word in this sense would certainly have resonated with Greeks, for whom the public proclamation of an event was more significant than the event itself; see Woodbury 1979: 111 = 1991: 302.

21 I thank William S. Morrow for discussing the concept of Form Criticism with me.

22 Dodds 1960: 75 ad *Eur. Bacch.* 72-75, and Richardson 1974: 310-11 ad *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 480-82.

23 But cf. ὀλβιε Ζεῦ, *Aesch. Supp.* 526.

24 Olympian gods: *Il.* 1.339, etc.; chthonian gods: *Aesch. Cho.* 476; heroes: *Hes. Op.* 141, 171; living humans: *Il.* 3.182, 11.68, but cf. Solon fr. 14 West.

25 Namely *ni-ib-mu-a-ri-a* from *nb-m3 't-r'*, "Ra is the lord of truth," *EA* 1.2, etc.; see Hess 1993: 117-18.

26 Gardiner 1957: 66 §85.

27 James P. Allen, private communication (16 Sept. 2003) wites, "it is relatively certain that the epithet would have been pronounced something like **mu'áχráw* originally."

28 Eli (with rough breathing): *I Samuel* 1:3, etc., Amalek (smooth breathing): *Genesis* 36:12, etc. The one exception to no breathing inside words, according to Trypho apud *Athen.* 9.397c, is τᾶῶς, which like Latin *pavo* and Hebrew *tukkīyīm* is probably from Hindustani *tōgai*. Oddly, the consonant changes again in the Italian derivative, *magari*. See Palazzi 1939: 662 ad loc. For /X/ as syllable, cf. the proper name Ἀρμάχορος < *Hr-m3 'hrw*.

29 Alcman 15 *PMG*, *PMGF* = 7 Calame.

30 Rhodian Macareus: schol. *Pind. Ol.* 7.131a, c (= 1.226-27 Drachmann); incestuous Macareus: Antiphanes fr. 18 Edmonds = *Eur. Aeolus* test. p. 366 Nauck². The feminine would be Macaria (cf. *Eur. Hkld.* 500-507), who had a hero-cult at Athens (Kearns 1989: 58-59).

31 Long alpha: Hipponax fr. 43, 117.6 West, Solon fr. 14.1 West; short alpha: always in Homer.

32 McDowell 1999.

33 Gardiner 1957: 54 §55.

34 *Ibid.* 474.

35 Erman and Grapow 1971: 2.17.

36 *Ibid.* 2.15; "gr[iechisch]" in their parlance means Ptolemaic. Examples of the phrase so written are given by Devéria 1870: 15 and Maspero 1893: 110.

37 Chamberlain 1990: 151.

38 Ill-advised speech: *Il.* 4.350 = 14.83; life force: 9.490; poisons: *Od.* 10.328. On this formula see Lateiner 1989: 20.

39 Verg. *Aen.* 4.173-80 (cf. *Plaut. Mil.* 4.1.9). Wackernagel 1860; Stanford 1936: 136-39; Combellack 1950-51; and Onians 1951: 469-70. For other discussions of the phrase, see Calhoun 1935, Yorke 1936, Parry 1937, Vivante 1975, D'Avino 1982 and Létoublon 1999.

40 *Od.* 17.57, 19.29, 21.398; cf. *Aesch. Ag.* 276.

41 Intensive alpha: Schol. *Od.* 17.57 [= 636 Dindorf], *Hesych.* s.v. ἄπτερα (cf. *Skt. sa-pattra*, "feathered"; Monier-Williams 1899: 1148). False division: Weck 1884, Hainsworth 1960; recall ἐνηλύσιον > Ἠλύσιον as a possible example (section 2.1 above). Privative alpha: schol. *Aesch. Ag.* 276c [= 1.121 Smith]; see Latacz 1968.

42 Keeping birds in cages to enjoy their song is too trivial for record in heroic verse; yet such quotidian details provide much material for Homer's metaphors and similes. That Greeks delighted in caged birds (as well as crickets and cicadas; cf. *Theocr.* 1.52, Longus

Daphnis and Chloe 1.10) is proved by Aristophanes (*Av.* 1085, fr. 446 PCG, schol. vet. *Nub.* 889d [= 128 Koster]) and other authors (e.g. Archil. fr. 273 West, Philost. *VS* 1.21.3 [516], Petron. *Sat.* 28-29, *ARV*² 348.2, 651.16).

43 Pl. *Theat.* 197C.

44 *Il.* 4.350 = 14.83.

45 As to the tongue, admittedly, it "is freely handled in Greek," as Gildersleeve (1885: 179) says, being a bow (Aesch. *Supp.* 446, Pind. *Isth.* 5(4).47, Pl. *Phaed.* 63a, etc.) And a dart (Aesch. *PV* 312, Pind. *Nem.* 7.71, Bacchyl. 10(9).51, etc.); speech flows from it (*Il.* 1.249, Hes. *Theog.* 97; see Boedeker 1984: 80-99). On the image implicit in Pind. *Nem.* 4.7-8 see McDiarmid 1987 with bibl. The tongue is not one of those organs that the tragedians are fastidious about mentioning (for a list, see Page 1938: 67 ad Eur. *Med.* 30-31). As to the mouth, see Theogn. 421, Simon. 541.2 PMG, Soph. *Phil.* 188, Eur. *Or.* 903. The mouth has a door in Hebrew thought: Job 41:14, Ecclesiastes 12:4, Micah 7:5.

46 Door: Theog. 421 (the phrase γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπίκεινται ["are closed"]/ ἄρμόδιαι suggests that the tongue is a threshold); bull: 815, Aesch. *Ag.* 36-37; seal: Timotheus 791.148 PMG, Lucian *Anth. Pal.* 10.42.1. The expression σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης (Critias fr. 5.3 West) does not refer to silence; see Woodbury 1952: 39 n. 50 = 1991: 37 n. 50. For a seal on the door, see Diggle 1970: 145-46 ad Eur. *Phaethon* 223. For doors on people's ears, see Pl. *Symp.* 218b.

47 ἀθύρωτον στόμα, Ar. *Ran.* 838RM⁸¹ with Schol. vet. A K [= 299 Dübner, 111 Chantry]; ἀπύλ-, *Ran.* 838 V, Gell. *NA* 1.15.19, Eustath. 723 ad *Il.* 8.460ff.

48 Ar. *Ran.* 892; see Taillardat 1965: 293 §512.

49 Pivoting tongue: γλωττοστροφεῖν, *Nub.* 792; ancient doors: *Thesm.* 487-88, Plaut. *Curculio* 158-61, Verg. *Aen.* 6.573. This is true also of the doors of bird cages (Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.14). Beare 1950: 281-82.

50 Cf. ψοφέω with LSJ s.v. II; ἀψοφητί: Lucian *Dial. Meret.* 12.3 [314]. The classic discussion of door noises is Mooney 1914: 19-41. See also Petersmann 1971. Ar. *Nub.* 1367, *Ran.* 492.

51 The doorway scene provides comic effects in both comedy and tragedy from Aesch. *Cho.* 653 to Shakespeare, *MacBeth* II.iii. See Haight 1950: 37-91; and Taplin 1977: 340-42.

52 *Nub.* 136, *Av.* 53-56, *Ran.* 39, *Plut.* 1097-1102. The door-bell was Roman (Suet. *Aug.* 91).

53 φθέγγεσθαι, *Plut.* 1097. Personification of the door is at home in comedy (as here and at Plaut. *Stich.* 312), in divine epiphanies (Pind. *Nem.* 1.41, on which see Herter 1940; Callim. *Ap.* 6, Eur. *Bacch.* 443-48, Verg. *Aen.* 6.81), and under the influence of black magic (Apul. *Met.* 1.14). In general see McKay 1967. Amata's threshold is "silent" in Verg. *Aen.* 7.343. See also Prop. 1.16.

54 Tongue has a key: Aesch. fr. 316 Radt, Soph. *OC* 1052; to lock the mouth: Eur. *Phoen.* 865, *Hec.* 1284, *Hipp.* 498; Ar. *Eq.* 1316, *Thesm.* 40; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 180, 505. The need to close the mouth with a locked tongue is all the greater since it stores not only words but money; classical Greeks used it as a small-change purse (Ar. *Vesp.* 609, 791, *Av.* 503, *Eccl.* 818, Theoph. *Char.* 6.9).

55 γλώσσα ἔπαγε fr. 31.9 Lobel-Page, Voigt; cf. Lucr. 3.155, Porphyryon ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.47. There are formal as well as semantic objections to the phrase (the hiatus is odd), but it has found defenders (e.g. Ford and Kopff 1976, with bibl.). The most convincing emendation is Cobet's πέπαγε (see Fowler 1987), which suits the door metaphor even better, since (ἐπι)πακτώω means "to shut" a door (Archil. fr. 279 West, Soph. *Aj.* 579, Ar. *Lys.* 265, fr. 737 PCG; cf. Hdt. 5.16, θύρη καταπακτῆ, and Eur. fr. 1003 Nauck², πηκτὰ δωμάτων).

- 56 As Page (1955: 24) describes it.
- 57 Ar. *Ach.* 1201.
- 58 Ar. *Thesm.* 130-132.
- 59 Zeno Med. *apud* Erotianus s.v. ἄμβην; Artem. 2.10 [= 116 Pack]; it is more commonly called a βάλανος, Ar. *Vesp.* 155, 200.
- 60 Fr. *14 PCG; cf. Hsch. s.v. γίγγλυμος.
- 61 Also called the θαιρός, περόνη, or στρόφιγξ; Taillardat 1965: 17.9, 104.195; and Henderson 1991: 182.370.
- 62 Ar. *Nub.* 51, *Thesm.* 1192.
- 63 Automedon, *Anth. Pal.* 5.129 [128].7; Philodemus, *Anth. Pal.* 5.132 [131].6; Achilles Tatius 2.37.8; Young 1964: 321.
- 64 Philocleon: Ar. *Vesp.* 609. This may not be an exception, if Dover 1972: 127 correctly suggests that “the passage is the only one in comedy which dares to hint at the enjoyment of incestuous contacts.”
- 65 Ar. *Thesm.* 423; Aristophon fr. 7.4 PCG; Men. *Mis.* fr. 10 Koerte = 8 Sandbach; Plaut. *Mostell.* 404; other kinds of locks were known. Diels 1924: 52-55; and Handford 1926.
- 66 They are further similar in that they, like the teeth of the key, are treenails or dowels (τύλοι). This may link the door metaphor to the other image of the tongue as instrument, for Aristophanes thinks of song and speech as bored with an auger (τόρευε πᾶσαν ᾠδὴν, *Thesm.* 986; τετορήσω ταῦτα [= τὸ κήρυγμα], *Pax* 381) and joined with dowels (ρήματα γομφοπαγῆ, *Ran.* 824, cf. σωκρατογόμφους, Teleclides fr. 2 PCG). See Vermeule 1979: 198.
- 67 Cf. ἀνοίγων τὰ φιλήματα, Achilles Tatius 2.37.8. Sommerstein 1980: 213 *ad* Ar. *Ach.* 1201: “broad: lit. ‘spread,’ i.e., with spread lips.” Door imagery depicts other aspects of sexual congress beside kissing. The door is used metaphorically of the vagina (Ar. *Vesp.* 768, *Thesm.* 424, *Eccl.* 962, 990; Eupolis fr. 236 PCG) and anus (Semon. fr. 17 West; Hipponax fr. 92.14 West; Ar. *Eccl.* 316-17; Eur. *Cycl.* 502), and penis and vagina may be depicted respectively by βάλανος (Ar. *Lys.* 407013; with a surface meaning of “jewelry-clasp” rather than, as elsewhere, “door bolt”) and τρύπημα (*Eccl.* 624). Timocles describes intercourse as bolting the tongue box, with reference to the box in which oboe reeds (literally “tongues”) were kept (καὶ τὸ γλωττόκομον βαλανεύσατε, fr. 2 PCG).
- 68 *Il.* 12.122, etc.; Theoc. 16.6.
- 69 This is a popular genre of unknown antiquity. It makes its debut in the surviving literature at Eur. *Cyc.* 483-518; see Seaford 1988: 195 *ad loc.*, quoting Rossi 1971: 21. In general, see Copley 1956: 1-27.
- 70 Ar. *Eccl.* 960-63. Headlam and Knox 1922: 83 *ad* Herod. 2.34-37 pace Ussher 1973: 210 *ad* Ar. *Eccl.* 960-63. The men’s attack on the Propylaea in *Lys.* 254-466 makes much verbal and scenic use of the *exclusus amator* motif; see Whitman 1964: 203.
- 71 Callim. *Epigr.* 43.5-6; Theoc. 23.16; Lucr. 4.1179; Prop. 1.16.42. Doorposts are also traditionally kissed in farewell (Ap. Rhod. 4.26-27; Verg. *Aen.* 2.490; Valerius Flaccus 2.168-69). There is a similar ambiguity with kisses that are said to suck forth the soul, an expression used either of passionate sexual kisses (Plato, *Anth. Pal.* 5.78 [= D. L. 3.32]; Achilles Tatius 2.8.2; cf. Marlowe, *Faustus* V.i.100) or of the last kiss to the dying (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.118; Verg. *Aen.* 4.684; cf. Chapter 8 note 45 below).
- 72 *Il.* 20.248. It is suggestive that in *Il.* 15.203, one of the two other metaphorical uses of στρεπτός in the poem (the other is at 9.497, of the gods who yield to prayer), the adjective modifies φρένες, for tongue and heart ought to be intimately connected; see section 1.5 above with note 78.

- 73 Thomson 1936; Durante 1958; Chantraine 1968-77: 3.947.
 74 *Il* 11.454, etc.; Lampe 1961: 1203-1204.
 75 Hes. *Theog.* 141.
 76 Cf. Irish *muir*, Gallic *mor*, and Gothic *marei*.
 77 Jerome *ad* Isaiah 2:16; the normal word in Biblical Hebrew is *yam*.
 78 The accusative persists even into Biblical Hebrew with the locative sense that one finds also in Latin (e.g. *domum ire*), e.g. *yama* ("seaward," "westward," Exodus 26:22, etc.).
 79 Cf. Hebrew *יָם־סוּף*, Genesis 27:28, etc. and Hieroglyphic Hittite *tuwarsa*.
 80 Trombetti 1897: 27, Brown 1969, cf. 1995: 134-58, and Levin 1995: 237.
 81 Timaeus 566 F 149 *FGH Hist.* Slater 1976; cf. Davies 1978.
 82 Athen. 32D =? Roman *defrutum*.
 83 *Il.* 6.167-70; but cf. 7.175-90. On the Homeric question, see Wolf 1985: 92-100 (chapters 18-19); and Taplin 1992: 35-37. On Proetus' tablet, see Brillante 1996, with bibl.
 84 *Il.* 6.196.
 85 Τυκτός is the reading of a minority of manuscripts, viz. Lipsiensis, Ambrosianus¹,^{8,12}, Vaticanus^{3,6}, Vindobonensis^{1,2}. West (1998: 1.187) does not record it in his apparatus.
 86 Payton 1991; and Bowman and Thomas 1994, with bibl.
 87 Critias 88 B 2.10 Diels-Kranz, Hdt. 5.59.
 88 Masson 1967: 61-65; supported by Chantraine 1968-77: 1.260 s.v.; Burkert 1992b: 30, and many others. In favour of the hypothesis of a Semitic borrowing is (i) the Cypriot form *ta-ta-la-to-ne*, i.e. τᾶ(ν) δᾶλτον, accusative (Masson 1983: 217,26), Cyprus being near Phoenicia and the /a/ vowel better representing the Semitic original (Akkadian *daltu*, Hebrew *deleth*, bound form *daleth*), and (ii) the word for the special wax used on writing-tablets (75% beeswax + 25% orpiment, i.e. trisulphide of arsenic [As₂S₃]), μάλθα (Ar. fr. 163 *PCG*, Cratinus fr. 217 *PCG*, Dem. 46.11, and—used as ship's caulking—Hipponax fr. 51 West), if this is also a Semitic loan-word from *melet*, "clay" (Jeremiah 43:9), as Lewy 1895: 172 and Mayer 1960: 330 suggest; see Koehler and Baumgartner 1995: 590 = German ed.³ 558; Chantraine 1968-77: 3.662, however, connects the word with μάλθακος, "soft". (The Akkadian name for this special wax was *iškuru*; on orpiment, see Gettens and Stout 1942: 135).
 89 Hinged plates (πτύχες), Aesch. *Supp.* 947, Soph. fr. 144.1 Radt, Eur. *IA* 98, δέλτος is first in Aesch. fr. 28a.21 *TrGF*, *Supp.* 179, and prominently in the story of Demaratus, Hdt. 7.239. Aristophanes' γραμματεῖον (*Nub.* 19, fr. 163 *PCG*) is a species thereof; Cicero and Catullus call it *codicilli*, *pugillares*, *pugillaria* and *tabelae*.
 90 Eur. *Hipp.* 859-65. White 1982; and West 1997: 364-67. Thompson 1966 catalogues these story-types as K2111 and K978. The *loci classici* for both motifs, viz. Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39:7-20) and the Uriah letter (II Samuel 11:14-17) evoke a pan-Aegean culture, suggesting contact of Jews with Egyptians and Indo-Europeans (Uriah was a Hittite).
 91 σήματα λυγρά, *Il.* 6.168. γράμματα is first attested in the fifth century ([Aesch.] *PV* 460, Soph. fr. 514 *TrGF*, Hdt. 1.139, 148, etc.). See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1916: 304 n. 2; Heubeck 1979: 140; and Brillante 1996: 36.
 92 On archaisms, see Raaflaub 1997: 628; on new coinages, see Pope 1985, and, more generally, Braswell 1971, and Willcock 1977; on xenophobia, see Isaac 2004: 324-25).
 93 Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 276A.
 94 Hes. *Theog.* 53-54; Pind. *Nem.* 1.12; Cic. *De Orat.* 2.86 = Simon. 510 *PMG*.
 95 Pind. *Ol.* 10.2-3, Aesch. *Supp.* 179, *Cho.* 450, [Aesch.] *PV* 789, Soph. *Phil.* 1325, fr. 597 Radt, Pl. *Theat.* 191C-D.
 96 *Lūah lēbh*, Proverbs 3:3, 7:3, Jeremiah 17:1, cf. II Corinthians 3:1-3; cf. Aesch.

Eum. 275, Eur. fr. 506 Nauck². Exodus 32:32-3, Psalm 68 [=69]:16, 138 [=139]:16, Daniel 12:1, Malachi 3:16, Luke 10:20, Philippians 4:3, Revelation 3:5. On this metaphor see Fraenkel 1942: 11 = 1964: 37-38, and Solmsen 1944 = 1968: 1.137-40.

97 Sansone 1975: 60.

98 Gelb et al. edd. 1959: 3.52-56; Koehler and Baumgartner 1995: 223-24 (except for Jeremiah 36:23, where it means "column [of text]").

99 Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1976: 1.5.7. The meaning is later attested in post-Biblical Hebrew: Torczyner 1938: 79-80./

100 Folding doors were common, cf. *š'nēšlā'im hadeleth hāhath gelīlīm*, "two leaves [*lit.* ribs] of one door folding" (I Kings 6:34). This could explain Homer's description of an eagle: ὄσση δ' ὑπορόφοιο θύρη θαλάμοιο τέτυκται/. . . / τόσσ' ἄρα τοῦ ἐκάτερθεν ἔσαν πτερὰ (*Il.* 24.317-19).

101 To the application of *dlt* to both doors and writing-tablets one might compare the use of the *√spr*. Akkadian *šupparuru*, "to spread" (said of nets) is the possible source of σ(ε)ῖραφος, "awning in a theatre" (*OGI* 510.6, *Ephes.* 2.39) and Ltn. *siparium*, "backcloth in a theatre" (*CIL* 4.4767, 8.26606, *Apul. Met.* 10.29, *Paul. Fest.* [p. 341 M.] according to F. Hommel in a letter to Frisk 1970: 2.712, a possibility conceded by Chantraine 1968-77: 4-1.1008. The same root denotes a book-scroll (Akkadian *sipru*, "commission," "report," "message," Hebrew *sēpher*, esp. Isaiah 34:4: *w'nāgollū kassēpher haššāmaim*, "and the heavens shall roll up like a book," and Jeremiah 36:2, etc., where a book is qualified as a *m'gilla*, "roll").

102 *Barbara fraxineis pingatur rhuna tabellis*, says Venantius Fortunatus *Carmen* 7.18.19. Onions 1966: 107 s.v. "book", citing Leo 1881: 173. *Codex* literally = "block of wood".

103 Immerwahr 1990: 136-37.

104 Of Moabite King Mēša, ca. 850; see Kautzsch 1910 the "table of alphabets" following page xvi. I am grateful to Nicola Debbo and Michael Conway for helpful discussion of this point.

105 Akkad. *alpu(m)*, Ugar. *ʾlp*, Hebr. *ʾelef*; cf. *luca bos*, Plaut. *Cas.* 846, etc. Alternatively, one may analyze the word as ἑλ-ἑφας, where the first syllable is the Semitic article, and compare Skt. *ibha*, Ltn. *ebur*, Hittite *lahpaš*, and even Egyptian *3bw* (Coptic ⲉⲃⲱ); see Mallory and Adams 2006: 141. In favour of the former hypothesis is the fact that Mycenaeans apparently got their ivory from Syria (see Wace 1949: 108).

106 So Lewy 1895: 92.

107 ἄξονες, κύρβεις, Plut. *Sol.* 25; "message in a bottle": Ar. *Thesm.* 770-74, a parody of Euripides' lost *Palamedes*, cf. Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 771 [= 269 Dübner].

108 Ar. *Vesp.* 98, 1 Samuel 21:3-4.

109 Cf. ἐν ὁδῷ καθελὼν, Dem. 23.53; cf. Aeschin. 1.91.

110 Morgan 1982: 115-23, with a perspective drawing.

111 Sapper (τοιχωρύχος): Ar. *Nub.* 1327, *Ran.* 773, *Plut.* 165, 203-205, etc.; door-breaker: *Vesp.* 1245, Antiphanes 236 *PCG*, Herod. 2.50-51.

112 ἡ τὰν θύραν φέρομεν ἡ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον/ ἡ τὰν γυναῖκα τὰν ἔσω καθημέταν/ μικρὰ μὲν ἔστι, ῥαδίως νιν οἴσομεν, *carm. pop.* 848 *PMG* 14-16.

113 Sappho fr. 111 Lobel-Page, Voigt.

114 Tablet 3 [Harvard Semitic Museum Nuzi Text 348] line 60.

115 Tablet 10 [Harvard Semitic Museum Nuzi Text 319] lines 19-22; Pfeiffer and Speiser 1935-36: 19 (text) and 74 (translation).

116 Theognis 526 F 1 *FGH Hist.* For later swallow-songs, see Trypanis 1951: 107-108

§107, and 263, with an example dating from the Turkish period.

117 πυκιναί said of φρένες: *Il.* 14.294; said of doors: *Il.* 14.167, 339, cf. 9.471; being in one's wits: Pind. *Ol.* 7.47; being out of them: Eur. *Heracl.* 709; διάστροφοί wits: [Aesch.] *PV* 673, Soph. *Ajax* 447.

118 Theogn. 1163-64; Pind. *Isth.* 6.72; *Nem.* 4.8; Aesch. *Supp.* 775.

119 Eur. *Hipp.* 612, cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 275-76, *Ran.* 101-102, 1471, Arist. *Rhet.* 1416a29.

120 *Il.* 9.313; see Chapter One note 78 and Chapter Three note 72 above.

121 *Od.* 17.218.

122 *Di-pi-si-jo-i* Fr 1204; Guthrie 1959: 45; and Palmer 1963: 252-53. Though this kenning is found in later Greek (cf. Deonna 1939; and Alexiou 1974: 202-205), Guthrie's and Palmer's interpretation has been variously challenged by Marinatos 1966; Adrados 1968; and Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 479.

123 Cic. *De Leg.* 2.26.64, cf. Solon fr. 4.12-13 West.

124 Ghosts: *Od.* 11.56, 154, 616; gods: Sleep in *Il.* 14.356 and Poseidon in *Od.* 8.346.

125 E.g. *Il.* 2.109-111 and 16.140-44 versus Hdt. 1.168 and Thuc. 4.87.2. See West 1978: 370, Snodgrass 1998: 21 = 2000: 182, and Fantuzzi 2001: 233 n. 3.

126 *Il.* 11.631-36, 12.445-50.

127 Hes. *Op.* 156-71. *BD* 17 54 too equates the "island of the Just" with the Field of Reeds.

Notes to Chapter Four

1 'Ηταν καμάρι τῆς αὐγῆς/ καὶ καβαλάρης ὁμορφος./ Τώρα μιὰ χούφτα χιόνι.

2 Hdt. 2.148; Armayor 1985.

3 'Αμμενέμης, Manetho 609 F 2 [p. 32] *FGrHist.*; 'Ισμάνδης 17.1.37; "Memnonion" 17.1.42.

4 Bernal 1987, 1991: 1.19, 64 and 2.268. For Manetho's confusion over Ammenemes, see 2.196.

5 539 *PMG*; fr. 127-30, 279-80 Radt. I believe that the *Psychostasia* was based on the *Aethiopsis*, not on the *Iliad*, and that it appeared on the same bill with, but was not identical to, *Memnon*. Neither point is sure; see Mette 1963: 108-12; and Taplin 1977: 422-23 and 431-33.

6 *Aethiopsis* T 3 Davies = Argumentum pp. 67-69 Bernabé. Kossatz-Deissmann 1992. Most important of earlier discussions is Lung 1912.

7 Hes. *Theog.* 985, cf. *Od.* 5.1, *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 218-38. On Tithonus, see Kakrides 1930; King 1986; and Segal 1986.

8 Ctesias (cf. F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 1a528 ad 49 F 6) *apud* Diod. Sic. 2.22.1, cf. Pl. *Leg.* 685C.

9 Memnon handsome: *Od.* 11.522; Tithonus handsome: *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 225, Tyr. fr. 12.5 West; Memnon's armour: Hes. loc. cit., Pind. *Isth.* 5.41.

10 *Od.* 4.187-88, Pind. *Pyth.* 6.28-45, Pind. *Ol.* 2.83.

11 Lung 1912: 14-19.

12 Procl. loc. cit.

13 *Il.* 1.423-24, 23.205-207; Lesky 1959 = 1966: 410-21.

14 Mimnermus fr. 12.9 West.

15 *Od.* 1.22-24; S. West ad *Od.* 1.23-24 in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 75.

16 Egyptian *K3š*, Akkadian *Kaši*; *EA* 49.50, Isaiah 11:11, etc.; *EA* 76.15, Genesis 2:13.

17 1 F 326-27 *FGrHist.*; fr. 150.17-19 Merkelbach-West; *Od.* 4.84. Von Soden 1959. 18 Hdt. 5.54.2, 7.151. Goosens 1939: 337 n. 8; Snowden 1970: 151-55 and 1983: 46-49; and Neiman 1980.

19 They are μακρόβιοι, Hdt. 3.23.1, 114; Last 1923. Herodotus' figure for Ethiopian longevity is not impossible: Jeanne Calment of Arles, France, lived 21 Feb. 1875 - 4 Aug. 1997.

20 Hiller 1991.

21 For recent discussions of the historicity of the Trojan War, see Bloedow 1988; Burkert 1995 = 2001a: 218-32; and Hood 1995.

22 Connecting the name, e.g., with Semitic *n 'mn*, "delightful," an epithet of Adonis: Bernal 1987, 1991: 2.261 mentions this idea, which he attributes to W. R. Smith.

23 LSJ s.v. Μέμνων.

24 *Il.* 22.209-14.

25 Page 1966: 254. On the emergence of the Achilles-story as the central focus of the *Iliad*, see Lange 1995.

26 Diomedes: *Il.* 8.90-117; Antilochus: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.28-45, cf. Schol. 28a [= 2.197 Drachmann].

27 E.g. *Od.* 11.467-70 = 24.15-18.

28 Kakridis 1949: 65-95; Schadewaldt 1965: 155-202; Schoeck 1961; Willcock 1973: 5-9 and 1983. See also Kullmann 1981 and 1991; Clark 1986; Edwards 1991: 15-19, Slatkin 1991: 10-11 (I owe this reference to Frederic Schroeder); and Burgess 1997. Willcock's notion of doublets is anticipated by Fenik 1968: 237.

29 Cf. *Il.* 8.69-75, metaphorically 16.658, 19.223, Theogn. 157, Aesch. *Pers.* 346.

30 *Il.* 22.186, 203, cf. 1.493ff.

31 *BD* 125, cf. 30B.

32 Wüst 1939, Onians 1951: 397-98; Dietrich 1964: 113-19; Vermeule 1989: 160-62.

33 On Osiris as judge of the dead, see Griffiths 1980: 173-84; on Osiris as saviour, see *ibid.* 216-35.

34 On Zeus and Dike, see Lloyd-Jones 1971; on the Devourer of the Dead, see Borges and Guerrero 1969: 85-86.

35 Cf. Quint. Smyrn. 11.105-106, who assimilates κῆρ to κήρ.

36 Cf. the cry that ends the Anthesteria, "Get out, *Keres*, the Anthesteria is over!" (θύραζε, Κῆρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια) Zenobius 4.33 mss. B and V; Von Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839: 1.93. The addressees of the phrase in its more common form are, however, Κᾶρες, "Carians"; see Burkert 1983a: 226-30. That the original meaning of κήρ was "fate" is argued by Lee 1961.

37 Ar. *Ran.* 1367.

38 Griffiths 1966. A bas-relief from the "Birth Room" of the Amun-temple at Luxor shows *H'py* in the company of the god *Hk3w*, the personification of magic, who is holding Amenhotep III and his *k3*. On *Hk3w*, see Te Velde 1969-1970.

39 Amazons are Egyptian-like: Hdt. 2.35, Soph. *OC* 337-40; they perform mastectomies: e.g. Diod. Sic. 2.45.3. Von Bothmer 1957, Tyrrell 1984, Blok 1995, and Dowden 1997.

40 Epicharmus fr. 82 *PCG*, Pind. fr. 172.5 Maehler, Eur. *Her.* 408-18, Schauenburg 1960.

41 Horseriding Amazons: Eur. *Her.* 408; Hippolyte: Stesichorus 193.25-26 *PMG* = *PMGF*, with Lobel's conjecture; Hippolytus: Eur. *Hipp.* 10; Hippe: Hes. fr. 147 Merkelbach-West.

42 Lerna: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4, cf. Aesch. fr. 13-15 Radt; Poseidon Hippios: Bacchyl.

16.99, Ar. *Nub.* 83, *Eq.* 551; Hippocrene: Hes. *Theog.* 6.

43 Many stories, such as those of Asclepius and Hippolytus, Orpheus and Eurydice, and Sisyphus, stress that one cannot evade death. Heracles is unique in the status of hero-god brought about by his apotheosis (Pind. *Nem.* 3.22, Hdt. 2.44). The concept of immortality is murky, however: see Talbert 1975, Ley 1979, Anderson 1981, and Clay 1981-1982.

44 *PT* 30 § 12, etc.; Griffiths 1970: 35-36.

45 *PT* 332 § 541; Davis 1985.

46 Faulkner 1966: 157-59. Southern and summer stars in pharaonic times, the precession of the equinoxes has since move *S3h* north in the winter sky.

47 Hdt. 2.61.1.

48 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 231-55; Plut. *Mor.* 357B.

49 Ὠρίων: *Il.* 18.486 = *Od.* 5.274 = Hes. *Op.* 615, etc.; Ὠαρίων: Pind. *Nem.* 2.12, fr. 72 Maehler, Corinna 654 col. iii 38, 662.2 *PMG*, Callim. *Min.* 265, Catull. 66.94; Ὀαρίων: v.l. Pind. *Nem.* 2.12; vide Athen. 490F codex E, Eustath. 932.42 *ad Il.* 13.292; 1535.50 *ad Od.* 5.274 codex A. Scherer 1953: 188-89.

50 E.g. *Avesta* 8.6, 37. Hester 1965: 376, and Chantraine 1968-1980: 4.994.

51 On hiatus, see Kühner and Blass 1890: 1.190; on syncphonesis, see West 1982: 12.

52 Euphorio fr. 101 Powell, Aristomachus *apud* Hygin. *de astr.* 2.34, Ov. *F.* 5.535, Nonnus *Dion.* 13.99-101.

53 *Hyriea quendam Thebis voto petisse, ut filium haberet. penes quem Iovis et Mercurius et Neptunus in hospitio devenerunt imperaveruntque ei, hostiam deiceret uti filius nasceretur. cuius pelle bovis detracta dei in eam urinam fecere, ussuque Mercurii terra obruta; unde supra dictus sit natus, quem Oriona adpellaverunt*, Schol. Germanici *Aratea* [= 93.13 Breysig] = Hes. fr. 148(b) Merkelbach-West, cf. Pind. fr. 73 Maehler.

54 With οὐρεῖν cf. Skt. *várṣati*, "to rain"; for the euphemism cf. Anton. Lib. 41.4. So Bömer 1958: 2.322 *ad Ov. Fast.* 5.535. The sexual use of ὀμείχειν is confirmed by the cognate substantive, μοιχός, "adulterer".

55 ἐν . . . ὄρεσσι, *Od.* 11.574.

56 So when one says in French, e.g. *Que l'on continue*, the syntactical value of *l'* is nil; it serves only to avoid the vulgarity and silliness of *qu'on* = *con*. On variety of vowel-quality, see Pfister 1948, and Alfonsi 1949-1950.

57 Ruijgh 1967: 386-87 §358-59, noting the similarity in Linear B of the syllabogram for *wo* and the ideogram for "woman" (on which see the "Table of Hieroglyphs Mentioned in this Work"), postulates a Minoan word **wo-ar*, "woman," borrowed by Mycenaean as **Ḫóar* > ὄαρ, "wife," > ὄαρίζω.

58 *OGI* 97.

59 E.g. Πε[το]ορά[π(ι)σ] *P. Oxy.* LV 3779.4, and Πετο[ο]ροννῶ(φρι)σ *P. Oxy.* LX 4060.31. Dittenberger 1903: 1.171-72, who cites the forms Ὀσοράπις, Ὀσορομνεῦις, and [Πετ]οσορβοῦχις.

60 For a discussion of this coping-stone, see Maspero 1902.

61 *PT* 477 §959, cf. *Od.* 11.572, Job 38:31.

62 Plut. *Mor.* 359C, E. Griffiths 1970: 372 comments, "Orion, however, is usually identified with Osiris and not with Horus. . . . The nearest suggestion of an affinity between Horus and Orion is [Kees 1943: 426], citing [Brugsch 1883-1891: 80] (from the tomb of Sethos I and the pronaos of Denderah), where Horus is a constellation 'zwar in der Nähe des Orion.'" The possible equation of Osiris and Orion has been suggested by Beaux 1994.

63 Cephalus: Hes. *Theog.* 986; Clitus: *Od.* 15.250; Sah rises in the east: cf. *PT* 442 §820-21; Artemis killed Orion: *Od.* 5.121.

- 64 *Od.* 11.572.
 65 Diod. Sic. 1.61.1, cf. Ael. *NA* 6.7.
 66 Strab. 17.1.37; *epitome*: C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* 2.632.
 67 Hinz 1972: 44.
 68 *Babylonian Chronicles* 1 iii 15-26. Grayson 1975: 80, 221.
 69 Hüsing says that the idea was first proposed by J. Oppert.
 70 The Memnonion: Strab. 17.1.42; Ethiopians' mourning: Demetrius 643 F 1 *FGrHist.* = Athen. 680B, cf. Plin. *HN* 5.60.
 71 Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, Jeffrey 1961: 355. Sethos' prenomen, *Mn-m3 't-r* 'is almost identical to that of his predecessor, Amenhotep III, viz. *Nb-m3 't-r* ', who, as we shall see, was also connected in antiquity with Memnon. It may be that the Greeks thought they had found Memnon because they thought they have found *Nb-m3 't-r* ' .
 72 Strab. 17.1.42; Huttusha archive III, 22.1; Edel 1948: 22.
 73 Diod. Sic. 1.47.1.
 74 Cyprus: Peltenburg 1986; Saqqara: Hankey and Aston 1995.
 75 Cf. Hdt. 5.54.2, 7.151.
 76 For the material: Egyptian *rwdt*, Greek βασιανίτης, Plin. *NH* 36.11.58; for the orientation: Lockyear 1894: 78.
 77 Helck 1966.
 78 Cambyses-theory: Paus. 1.42.3, Inscription 29 Bernand, etc.; earthquake-theory: Strab. 17.1.46; the earthquake of 27: Hieron. *Chron.* p. 164 Helm; the rarity of quakes in Egypt: Plin. *NH* 2.82. The most recent occurred at 3 p.m. local time in Cairo on 12 October 1992, measured 5.3 on the Richter scale, and claimed at least 340 lives; no damage to ancient monuments was reported (*Manchester Guardian* Tues. 13 Oct. 1992 p. 20).
 79 ὥρας ᾧ, *ora p(rima)* Inscription 3.4, 5.4 Bernand, etc.; ψόφος ὡς ἂν πληγῆς οὐ μεγάλης, Strabo loc. cit; [ὄν] μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγίσσεις χορδῆς, Paus. loc. cit.
 80 On the tourist-trade, see e.g. Lucian *Philopseudes* 33-34, *Toxaris* 27, Tac. *Ann.* 2.61.
 81 Cf. S. H. A. *Sev.* 17.4.
 82 192 *PMG* = *PMGF*; see Anonymous 1875.
 83 I thank Charles Segal for this reference.
 84 Letronne 1833 = 1881: 2.1-97 with a collection of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, 98-236; Hichens 1908: 107-119; Wiedemann 1917; Bernand and Bernand 1960; and Gardiner 1961.
 85 Cf. ὠμίλευν δ' ὥς τε ζωὸν βροτοί, *Il.* 18.539. The inhabitants of Rhodes—an important stepping-stone for ideas between Egypt and Greece (see section 6.2 below)—were fabled to have tied their statues' feet to keep them from running away (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.95a [1.220-21 Drachmann]). See Morris 1992: 215-37. Emmet Robbins tells me the story that when Michelangelo finished sculpting his Moses he stood back and so admired its life-likeness that he struck it with his hammer and said, "Parla!". For talking (unsculpted) rocks, cf. West 1966: 168 ad Hes. *Theog.* 35. Inscription 19 Bernand compares the phenomenon to the Argo and the oak at Dodona.
 86 φθεγγόμενος λίθος, Manetho 609 F 2 [p. 38] *FGrHist.*
 87 Cf. Inscription 30 Bernand.
 88 Polo 1912: 52 (I owe this reference to Micah Ross). In general, see Lindsay, Criswell, Criswell, and Criswell 1976, with bibl. (I owe this reference to Robert Dalrymple and Darrel Long.) Curiously in an Egyptological context, similar aeolian processes fashioned the dreikanter (a species of ventifact) on the Martian surface that are visible to terrestrial observers as pyramids; see Sagan 1995: 51-52.

89 MacGillivray 1857: 203-204. A persistent search and consultation with geologists have failed to disclose more recent discussion of this curious phenomenon.

90 Brewster 1831: 508-11; Brugsch 1879: 1.431; Curzon 1886: 281 = 1923: 118-19.

91 Hdt. 3.29.

92 Memnon greeting Eos: Philostr. *Imag.* 1.7.3, Callistratus *Descriptiones* 9; statue called Memnon only after 27: Courtney 1980: 593 ad Juv. 15.5; noise confirmed established legend: Grimal 1992: 224.

93 *P. Turin* nos. 5, 7 and 11. Wilcken 1927-1957: vol. 2, no. 189, 191 and 192 (pp. 190-97), quoted by Gardiner 1961: 91.

94 Well, almost never; see Chapter One note 27; we will return to this in Chapter Seven.

95 Manetho op. cit. *P. Turin* 6.5-6, 7.3; Balbilla, Inscription 29.3 Bernand. For variants of the name, see Gardiner 1957: 435 n. 1a.

96 *EA* 26.8 etc.

97 Gardiner 1961: 97. Wiedemann 1917: 64-65 mentions Champollion's derivation of "Memnonium" from Egyptian *mnw*, "monuments"; *mnw* is itself a derivative of *mn*, "to be firm, etc.," discussed in section 4.2 above.

98 ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπονομάζ[ων], *VA* 4.

99 *Il.* 5.267, Verg. *Aen.* 6.535.

100 Smith 1892: 465, and Gilbert 1939: 48-49.

101 Gilbert is not mentioned, e.g. in Bernal's 1987, 1991 discussion. See, however, Lloyd 1976: 1.121. Goossens 1939 was written primarily as a response to Gilbert.

102 Cf. Pendlebury 1930: 56, and Wace 1932: 198.

103 Mycenae on Crete: cf. Vell. Pat. 1.1.2, Plin. *HN* 4.59; Amenhotep's cartouche in the Argolid: Kitchen 1966, Faure 1968, and Cline 1987 and 1990; Mycenaean pottery at Gurob: Stubbings 1951: 94; at Amarna: Merrillees 1973. In general, see recently Hankey 1993.

104 On Spain, see Morris 1992: 117. On Britain, see Stone 1958: 99. Evidence for Mycenaeans in Britain is above all the carving of a dagger on stone 53 of trilithon 2 of Stonehenge in Wessex discovered by R. J. Atkinson in 1953, the closest parallels to this form of dagger being those from the shaft-graves at Mycenae. One must search carefully (μεταλλάν) for metals, and Herodotus' Tin Islands (κασσιτέριδες, 3.115) may have been the British Isles; see Rice Holmes 1907: 483-98, and Stella 1965: 196 n. 8. Tin, of course, is a basic ingredient of the bronze that gave its name to the period of Greek culture with which this chapter is concerned.

105 Morkot 1990.

106 Marriage and military pacts are linked in Greek epic in the oath of Tyndareus, Hes. fr. 204.69-84 [40-46] Merkelbach-West, cf. *Il.* 9.337-39.

107 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 129-33.

108 Grimal 1992: 223. A fuller list of dynastic marriages involving princesses of Arzawa, Enišasi and Ammia is given by Schmidt 1993: 159. See also Kitchen 1962 and Schulman 1979.

109 *EA* 4.6-7.

110 Gardiner 1957: 72-74.

111 Issleib 1909, Campbell 1912: 1-49, and Baedeker 1914: 258-61. The very similar appearance of Amun to Queen Aahmes and consequent begetting of Hashepsowe is shown in the north wall of the middle colonnade of the temple at Deir el Bahari; see Naville 1895-1901: vol. 2 plate xlvii.

112 Campbell 1912: 25; cf. Brunner 1964: 35-58.

113 I.e. *ipt-swt*, “most select of places,” the sacred name of Karnak.

114 The idea that gods have a special odour was to have a long history in Greek thought (e.g. Theoc. 7.16, Ap. Rhod. 4.403-34, *Anacreontea* 1.8, 13, Verg. *Aen.* 1.403-404). See Lohmeyer 1919, Schmid 1923, and Boumoure 1983.

115 The gods appear naked before the dead pharaoh (*PT* 256 §303, 308 §488). By contrast with the idea of odour, the notion that gods could appear undisguised to mortals is foreign to Greek, as to Hebrew thought. When gods walk the earth, they are disguised (*Od.* 17.485-87, Ov. *Met.* 1.212-13, 8.611-724, Plaut. *Amphitryon*, cf. Acts 14:12) and one looks upon them in their true form at one’s peril (e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 2.25, Eur. *Bacch.* 6-12, Exodus 33:18-23, Ezek. *Ex.* 101, Apul. *Met.* 5.23). Similarly, they wear clothes (Xenophanes 21 B 14 Diels-Kranz) and cannot be seen naked with impunity (Eur. *Hipp.* 86, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4) until Praxiteles broke this rule by sculpting the nude Cnidian Aphrodite (Plin. *NH* 36.20). See Rose 1956: 65, Dietrich 1983, and Hollis 1990: 341-54.

116 For her biography, see Pridik 1942.

117 Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.48, Plaut. *Amph.* passim.

118 E.g. *mār [ša]maš [š]á ti-ra-am šamaš*, “(the king is the) son of the Sun, whom the Sun loves,” (*EA* 323.22-23), where *ti-ra-am* is a feminine form of the verb *rāmu*, “to love.” Cf. *wattābō’ lāhem haššemeš*, “and the sun set upon them” (Judges 19:14) where *wattābō’* is third person feminine imperfect *qal* of the verb *bo*.

119 See Chapter Two note 217.

120 Memnon’s good looks: *Od.* 11.522. On Akhenaten’s deformity: Aldred 1968: 134.

121 Manetho 609 F 2 [p. 39] *FGrHist*.

122 Tithonus’ interminable old age: *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 218-38; don’t strive for immortality: μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον σπεύδε, Pind. *Pyth.* 3.61-62.

Notes to Chapter Five

1 *Quid cum capillis color gratus et nitor splendidus inlucet et contra solis aciem uegetus fulgurat. . . et nunc aurum coruscans in lenem mellis deprimitur umbram, nunc coruina nigredine caerulos columbarum e collis flosculos aemulatur. . . ad instar speculi reddit imaginem gratiorem?* Apul. *Met.* 2.9.

2 κυανέησιν. . . ὀφρύσι, *Il.* 1.528, Strab. 8.3.30.

3 “Ces sourcils bleus. . . ne s’expliquent-ils pas par comparaison avec les statues aux sourcils inscrués, ou aux chevelures postiches en κύανος (lapis-lazzuli, *uk-yu* des Babyloniens)? L’art égyptien employait aussi cette curieuse technique, que la Grèce délaissa.”

4 But cf. Germain 1954: 153 n. 2.

5 *Il.* 13.703, *Od.* 13.32, KN Ch 897 and Ch 1015, Sappho 31.14 Lobel-Page, Voigt; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.109, with Stanford 1952; Hor. *carm.* 4.1.10.

6 Zeus cf. *Il.* 17.209; Hera: 15.102; Dionysus: *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 5; Poseidon: *Il.* 13.563 × 8; and Hades: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 347, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 261.

7 Horses and bulls: [Hes.] *Scut.* 120, *Thebais* fr. 6^A Davies, 7 Bernabé, *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 194; Boreas: *Il.* 20.224.

8 Pind. *Paeon* 6.83-84, Bacchyl. 5.33, 9.53.

9 Hector’s corpse: *Il.* 22.402; Odysseus’ beard: *Od.* 16.176, reading γενειάδες; his hair: reading ἐθειράδες, G U et varia lectio apud Eustat.

10 Hdt. 1.131, Pind. *Nem.* 6.1.

11 But see Benton 1965, Kiilerich 1988.

12 Respectively: γλαυκός, ἥεροειδής, μέλας, οἶνοψ, πολιδός, πορφύρεος, and ἰοειδής; Simon. 567.3-5 *PMG*.

13 "Black": Carpenter 1946: 30-31; "dark": Irwin 1974: 89, Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 160.

14 *Il.* 18.22 and 20.417-18.

15 Whallon 1961, Paraskevaides 1984.

16 Halleux 1969: 62-66, West 1997: 13, Von Rosen 1988, 1990.

17 PY Ta 642, 714. Morpurgo 1963: 175, Palmer 1963: 338-39, Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 340.

18 MY Oi 701-705; Glare and Thompson 1996: 188 s.v. κύανος.

19 Schliemann 1886: 284-92, Helbig 1887: 72-74, 100-106, Nilsson 1933: 138-39.

20 *Contra* Calhoun 1935.

21 *Il.* 20.224; Hes. *Theog.* 278.

22 Table-legs: τράπεζα... κυανόπεζα, *Il.* 11.627-28, or its "border", if πέζα can mean this, cf. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.46 [= 263 Wendel]; breastplate: 11.24-27, cf. Exodus 28:18; shield: 34-35; cornice: *Od.* 7.87.

23 *Il.* 18.564.

24 *Od.* 6.231.

25 Irwin 1990.

26 Eustath. 15611.60 *ad Od.* 6.251.

27 Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 308 *ad loc.*

28 Sappho 105C Lobel-Page, Voigt, cf. Euphorio fr. 40 Powell, Pancrates *apud* Athen. 677F, Meleager 46.3-4 [4237-38 Gow-Page, *HE*].

29 *Od.* 6.232-34.

30 Caley and Richards 1956: 127, with bibl.

31 Kees 1943: 466-67, Schäfer 1974: 71, Wilkinson 1994: 101, 111, Stratos 2001.

32 *BD* 22.

33 Faulkner 1985: 27 = 1998: plate 2.

34 Lichtheim 1976: 55.

35 *Ibid.*: 198, cf. Pritchard 1969: 11.

36 Lichtheim 1976: 182.

37 Faulkner 1961: 13.

38 Golden gods: *Ran.* 483; Pythagoras' thigh: *Iambl. vita Pythagorae* 19; Zeus in a golden rain: *Soph. Ant.* 949-50, *Pind. Pyth.* 12.17-18, *Isth.* 7.5. Lorimer 1936: 20-21.

39 Woodbury 1979: 285 = 1991: 332-33.

40 West 1966: 417 *ad Hes. Theog.* 947-48.

41 Nisus' hair as life-token: *Aesch. Cho.* 619; coloured purple: *Paus.* 1.19.4, *Prop.* 3.19.22.

42 Haevernick 1963: 192.

43 Cloud: *Il.* 20.418; Thetis' veil: 24.93-94; Perseus' chest: Simon. 543.12 *PMG*; Hades: *IG* 14.1389 ii 25.

44 *Arat. Phaen.* 48 (cf. *Verg. G.* 1.246), 329, 398 and 702, cf. *Callim. fr.* 74 *Hecale* 15-17 (=260.44-69 Pfeiffer).

45 West 1966: 280 *ad Hes. Theog.* 406.

46 *Theophr. de lapidibus* 55. Eichholz 1965: 125.

47 γαῖα μέλαινα *Il.* 2.699, 15.715, 17.416, 20.494, *Od.* 19.111 in feet five and six, *Od.* 11.587 in one and two, 11.365 in two and three; κελαινὴ χθών *Il.* 16.384; ἡπείροιο μελαίνης *Od.* 14.97, 21.109; ἐρεμνὴν γαῖαν *Od.* 24.106; ἡ [νειὸς] δὲ μελαίνετ' ὀπισθεν [τοῦ ἀρότρου] *Il.* 18.548. Post-homeric usages: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.*

369; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 130; *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 427; *Hymn. Hom.* 7.22; Hes. *Theog.* 69; *Aspis* [153]; Archil. fr. 130.2 West; Alcman fr. 89.3 *PMG*, *PMGF* = 159.3 Calame; Sappho fr. 1.10; 16.2; 20.6 Lobel-Page, Voigt; Alcaeus fr. 38.10; 130.29 (= 130b.14) Lobel-Page, Voigt; Solon fr. 36.5; 38.4-5 West; Semonides fr. 1.14 West; Thegn. 878; 1070b; Bacch. 13.153; Pind. *Ol.* 9.50; *Nem.* 11.39; Eur. *Bacch.* 756; 1065; *Rhes.* 962.

48 Alexiou 1974: 45; Danforth 1982: 55, 60, 81.

49 Solon fr. 36.5 West. Personified goddesses ought to be white (cf. λευκώλενος) because females kept indoors (*Od.* 8.324; cf. Men. fr. 592 Koerte; Theophr. *Char.* 28.3) and so were sheltered from the sun (Taillardat 1965: 166 §314, Irwin 1974: 122-16); so ingrained was this cultural stereotype that in a later period women whitened their skin artificially using makeup (ψιμύθιον, *Ln. cerussa*, Ar. *Eccl.* 878, 929, 1072, *Plut.* 1064, Xen. *Oec.* 10.2, *Lys.* 1.14).

50 Fertile soil: cf. *Il.* 18.548, *Od.* 19.111; dry land: cf. *Od.* 14.97, 21.109; Ap. Rhod. 4.567-69; underworld: cf. *Il.* 2.699, *Od.* 24.106. On earth as fertile as viewed from the sea, see Kober 1932: 32; on earth as euphemism for Hades', see Wallace 1927: 15; and on earth as contrasted with sky, see Irwin 1974: 187-93.

51 Durrell 1980: 268.

52 Anastassiades 1949: 357-59.

53 Hdt. 2.12.2, *PGM* 4.799-800 with Betz 1986: 53, Verg. *G.* 4.291.

54 Erman and Grapow 1971: 5.126 s.v. *kmt*; Erichsen 1954: 564 s.v. *kmj*; cf. the derivatives: Coptic κμη (Smith 1983: 15); Hebrew *hām* (Psalms 78:51, etc.), Greek Χημία (*Plut. Mor.* 364C). As to the Hebrew word, I accept, on the evidence of the Psalmist himself, the equation of *hām* and *miṣrayim* (i.e. Egypt). So Budde 1883: 323, *pace* Hommel 1883: 427. Alternatively, Hebrew Ham derives from the old West Semitic sun-god Ḥammu (see Lewy 1944: 473). Semiticists are undecided on this matter. I thank William S. Morrow for his advice on this question.

55 From *kmm*, "to become, or be black," by contrast with *dšr.t*, "the red land," said of the surrounding desert; Walker 1967; Folk 1976.

56 *PT* 264 §343, 265 §352, 266 §359, etc. Westermann 1919: 159.

57 Monier-Williams 1899: 474.

58 *RV* 5.32.1, Macdonell 1898: 158.

59 The Danaids' route: Hdt. 2.182, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4, *Marmor Parium* 239 A 9 *FGrHist.*; their flight from marriage: Aesch. *Supp.* 318-34, cf. Phrynichus 3 F 1 Radt.

60 *Il.* 4.171, *Thebais* fr. 1 Davies, Bernabé, Hes. fr. 128 Merkelbach-West, Paus. 2.15.5, Quint. Smyrn. 3.570, Bintliff 1977: 89. Note, too, the general Greek obsession with rain-magic, as in the myths of Cephalus and Salmoneus; see Fowler 1993 and Smith and Trzaskoma 2005.

61 On Poseidon as ruler of inland waters as well as of the sea, see Hutchinson 1985: 94-95 *ad* Aesch. *Sept.* 310-11. See also sections 1.4 and 4.2 above. On the spring: Sutton 1974.

62 [Pl.] *Axiochus* 371E, Hor. *carm.* 3.11.22-52.

63 Tyrtaeus fr. 2 West, Thuc. 1.12.3, Diod. Sic. 4.57-58, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.

64 Gardiner 1947: 1.124-27.

65 *EA* 151.52.

66 Albright 1950: 172.

67 Caskey and Blackburn 1977: 5.

68 Holland 1928: 73-86; Astour 1967: 73, Bernal 1987, 1991: 1.88-98, 2.137-38.

69 Glover 1945: 3.

70 There is one further point. Plutarch says that the Egyptians call Egypt *Kmt*, “like the iris of the eye,” ὥσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ (*Mor.* 364C) and Egyptian texts do indeed associated *Kmt* with the pupil (*dfd*) of the eye of Horus, and in one case of Osiris (Griffiths 1970: 426); this connection may stress irrigation as the source of the black colour of the soil, for in Semitic languages the words for “eye” and “spring of water” are identical, e.g. Akkadian *ḫnu*, Hebrew *‘ayin* (Gelb, Landsberger and Oppenheim 1960: 7.153; Koehler and Baumgartner 1995: 2.818-19; and in Greek the tearful eye is metaphorically a *πηγή* (Aesch. *Ag.* 888, [Aesch.] *PV* 399-401, *Soph. Ant.* 803, *Trach.* 852, *Eur. Alc.* 1068).

71 For orthodox Parryists, as a “well-worn expression” (Silk 1974: 52), the phrase means no more than “day broke” (see Parry 1971: 13, 76), but this view is too reductionist, especially since Homer’s “expressions for the onset of dawn. . . have not been reduced to a compact formular system” (Kirk 1985: 1.119 *ad Il.* 2.48-49).

72 This idea is still found in Page 1955: 90. On the superhuman size of gods, see *Il.* 13.20, 21.407, *Pind. Pyth.* 3.43, *Hdt.* 1.60; Rose 1940: 81-82; Nock 1972: 1.544.

73 *Apud* Doederlein 1858: 3, 76-77 §2038; and Jordan 1873: 80. So also Greverus 1839: 224.

74 Alcaeus fr. 346.1 Lobel-Page, Voigt; cf. Asclepiades, *Anth. Pal.* 12.50; see West 1978: 311-12 *ad Hes. Op.* 610; MacLeod 1982: 156 *ad Il.* 24.788; Kirk 1985: 103-104 *ad Il.* 1.477; West in Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 129 *ad Od.* 2.1; and Gerber 1970: 198, quoting LSJ *s.v.* δάκτυλος.

75 ἡ ὥματαοειδὴς θεός (*Od.* 2.1 [= 72 Dindorf]). Cf. Ἡὼς. . . θεὰ, *Il.* 2.48. The issue is decided for modern readers by editors who, unlike early scribes, must by convention print either a capital or a minuscule initial.

76 Cf. Fowler’s (1987: 122 n. 46) remark quoted in Chapter Two note 60 above.

77 Nagy’s (1990: 247) suggestion that the -δάκτυλος element of the compound means not “fingers” but “toes” is eccentric.

78 ἐρυθροδάκτυλος, *Arist. Rhet.* 1405b20.

79 Stanford 1959: 234 *ad Od.* 2.1. Egyptian women coloured their fingernails with henna, and nail-polish on fingers and toes is shown in the Thera frescoes (e.g. Xeste 3, 3a adyton, north wall), but Greek women had *white* fingernails if we trust *Eur. Or.* 961.

80 E.g. λε[ύκ]ιππος (*Bacchyl.* fr. 20C.22 Snell), λευκόπτερος (*Eur. Tro.* 848-49) and λευκόπῳλος (*Aesch. Pers.* 386-87 and *Soph. Aj.* 673). Cf. the Italian *alba*, French *aube* < *Ltn. albus*.

81 Sappho fr. 96.8 Lobel-Page, Voigt.

82 Waern 1972: 4; and MacLeod 1974: 220 n. 1 = 1983: 19 n. 1.

83 *Hes. Theog.* 246, 251.

84 Burnett 1983: 307 n. 81.

85 Cf. Chapter Five note 49 above.

86 E.g. Campbell 1967: 280.

87 See West 1978: 311-12 *ad Hes. Op.* 610.

88 *Il.* 14.346-51. Contrast *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 6-8, where roses begin the catalogue.

89 Aulus Gellius 14.6.3. The rose was imported from Kurdistan and the word itself is Avestan in origin; see Joret 1892: 12-14. The earliest occurrence of ῥόδον in Greek is *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 6, dated by Richardson 1974: 11 at ca. 600. The mention of rose-scented oil to tend the dead in the Linear B tablets suggests that Mycenaeans cultivated the rose. They made many of their own perfumes, though rose-oil is not, so far as our evidence goes (esp. *PY Un* 249, 267), among them, *pace* Wylock 1970: 125-38; and Erard-Cerceau 1990: 169-70. There was also a “month of the rose-festival” *wo-de-wi-jo me-no* (KN F 953) according to Petruševski 1959: 104. If so, rose-cultivation will have been among the many

arts lost during the dark ages only to be rediscovered in the archaic period.

90 Stanford 1959: 277 *ad Od.* 4.335ff. Yet lion-bones have been found in Mycenaean graves; see Boessneck and Driesch 1979 and 1981.

91 *Il.* 23.186, cf. Hipponax fr. 58 West; PY Fr 1203-1204, 1207-1208, 1223.

92 For a rare exception, see Irwin 1984: 166 n. 75.

93 E.g. Hsch. s.v. ἰοχέαιρα.

94 I.e. its derivation fails to account for the -αῖρα ending. Hesychius, recognizing this, offers χαίρω as an alternative etymon to χέω. Moderns rightly reject this second suggestion.

95 Δούρατ' ἔχευον (*Il.* 5.618) and βέλεα χέοντο (8.159) may have been inspired by ἰοχέαιρα (mis)understood as ἰοὺς χέουσα.

96 Cf. Hittite *keššar*, Tischler 1983: 1.558-63.

97 Namely, *vájra-bahu*, "thunderbolt-armed," "wielder of the thunderbolt," *patra-hasta*, "holding any vessel in the hand," and *šula-hasta*, "having a lance and mace in hand." English offers several examples of such compounds: a "freckle-faced" girl's face possesses, but in no way resembles, freckles (cf. "dimple-cheeked," "hump-backed," "ring-tailed").

98 *RV* 10.103 [= 929].2.

99 Monier-Williams 1899: 169 so translates *ishu-hasta*.

100 *Od.* 5.1, 121, 15.250, Hes. *Theog.* 986, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.4.

101 See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1920: 31 n. 2, Lawler 1948, Bolling 1958; and Putnam 1960; against this possibility, see Risch 1972; and Renehan 1984.

102 Schol. *ad Theocr.* 2.59 [= 283 Wendel].

103 Schäfer 1974: 57 and 237.

104 Redford 1984: 173.

105 Mycenaeans, too, offered flowers to their gods, though Homer chooses to describe the far costlier hecatombs; see Higgins 1967: pl. 109; cf. [Long.] *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.2.

106 So Sarapion apud Plut. *Mor.* 400A-B, quoting *Od.* 3.1, ἥελιος δ' ἀπόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην; cf. Picard 1937.

107 Sappho fr. 96.12-13 Lobel-Page, Voigt.

108 Page 1955: 94; cf. MacLeod 1974: 219 = 1983: 18, "the dew coming from the moon causes the flowers to 'bloom'."

109 Campbell 1967: 280.

110 Egyptian recognizes only two "horizons", that whence the sun rises and that where it sets. For this reason a tomb is one's "horizon," i.e. the place where one will rise into the afterlife.

111 Just so Moret 1901 imagines the agricultural scenes on Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.541-86) to have been inspired by Egyptian wall-paintings.

112 Mercer 1939: xv with n. 2.

113 It is even possible that (Ḫ)ρόδος is among the vocabulary shared by Greek and the Semitic languages, since it is found, in the form *wrđ* in Aramaic (e.g. Targum of Song of Songs 2:1; 1st cent. BC) and Arabic and is at home in the company of "Aegean koine" words (e.g. Sappho fr. 2.6 Lobel-Page, Voigt with the comments of Brown 1980: 18-19).

114 See Assmann 1997: 144-67.

115 Redford 1984: 175-76.

116 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 117 and Mee 1982 *passim*.

117 The identification by, among others, Page 1959: 15 of Ἀχαΐα πόλις at Ialysus (Athen. 8.360E) with the Aḫḫijawa for which the Hittites of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries expressed great respect has been contested by Huxley 1960: 22-23; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 118-119, and Iakovidis 1973 who identify Mycenae as the centre of

Ahhijawa power. Nevertheless, these scholars accept Rhodes as an important trading outpost of the land of Ahhijawa. See now Hope Simpson 2003: 224-26.

118 The scarab is from tomb 9 at Ialysus, the ostrich-egg from New Tomb 31, and the bronze-mirrors from New Tombs 61, 67, 69, 73 and 84. Scarab: Pendlebury 1930: vii n. 1 and Desborough 1964: 51-52 and 239-40; egg and mirrors: Mee 1982: 22 and 45. We already suggested in section 1.3 above that the LH IIA 2 pottery found at Amarna was manufactured on either Rhodes or Cyprus.

119 Breasted 1906: 2.418 §1015; Vercoutter 1954: 133.

120 The chief evidence for this is epigraphic; see de Gartrinen 1895: 233-34 index vi s.v. Ἄλιος. Cf. Fraser and Bean 1954: 130-32; Morelli 1959: 15-17; and Burkert 1985: 175 (= 273 German ed.).

121 Pind. *Ol.* 7.54-55. I cannot agree with those who are led by the Scholiast (πρὸ Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἰστόρητο; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.101 [= 1.222 Drachmann] to conclude that Pindar is here misrepresenting Rhodian tradition to his Rhodian patron. His typical method is rather precisely the opposite: to flatter his patron with allusions to local tradition; cf. Griffith 1989: 171 on *Ol.* 1 and 1991: 54 on *Ol.* 2. The story of the birth of Rhodes from the sea is found also in Zenon of Rhodes 523 F 1 *FGrHist.* And Arist. fr. 611.65 Rose.

122 It is probable that "Rhodes" is the pre-Greek name of the island, of unknown meaning. The classical Greeks understood the name as referring to the excellent roses that grew there in that time, a view accepted by Georgacas 1955: 155, who cites Δαφνοῦς, Καρύα, Πίτυς and other parallels, or to its being surrounded by a strong current (ῥοώδης, Epimenides 457 T 21 *FGrHist.*).

123 Pind. *Ol.* 7.58. The idea of an island growing out of the sea is attested elsewhere (Ap. Rhod. 4.1757, Plin. *HN* 2.202, Amm. Marc. 17.7.13); we hear also of floating islands (Pind. fr. 33d Maehler) and of islands connected with the mainland by underwater channels (Pind. *Nem.* 1.1, Verg. *Aen.* 3.695-96). The idea that Rhodes rose from the sea was suggested to the inhabitants by seashells on the hills; see Torr 1885: 152; and Cook 1914: 986-87.

124 Norwood 1945: 141 and Barkhuizen 1968: 36 note that in this poem Pindar deliberately speaks of the island in those cases in which the name is identical with ῥόδον, and as "blooming" (βλάσσει 69).

125 Pind. *Ol.* 7.55, *Il.* 15.187-93, *Atra-ḥasis* 1.11-18, cf. *Gilgamesh* XI 39-42 [= p. 93 *ANET*³]. For the texts, see Lambert and Millard 1969: 42-43 and *ANET*³ 93. Their relation to Homer is considered by Schmidt 1981; Burkert 1983a: 53; and 1984: 86-87; and Dalley 1989: 36 n. 4. The idea of the sun as bridegroom (*Ol.* 7.14, 71, cf. γαμβρός 4) is also Semitic (cf. Psalm 19:6).

126 Rhadamanthys born on Crete: Hes. fr. 140 Merkelbach-West = Bacchyl. fr. 10 Snell; as son of Zeus and Europa: *Il.* 14.321-22, Hes. fr. 141.13 Merkelbach-West; as son of Hephaestus: Cinaethon of Sparta apud Paus. 8.53.5; for Ludolph Malten's idea that "Hephaestus" is a corruption of "Phaestus", see Nilsson 1950: 624 n. 15.

127 Literary evidence: Hdt. 1.171, 3.122, Thuc. 1.48; archaeological evidence: Marketou 1996; caution urged by Rehak and Younger 1998: 137.

128 Cf. *Od.* 6.239: ἀμφίπολοι λευκώλενοι.

129 Egypt: Westendorf 1968: 10; black figure: Boardman 1964: 16 and 197-98; Greek poetry: see Chapter Five note 49 above.

130 *Il.* 23.100-101: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἥ τε καπνὸς ὥχετο τετριγυῖα.

131 *Od.* 19. 175-77.

132 Spirals: Schachermeyer 1964: 81-83; papyrus and monkeys: Castleden 1990: 75,

143.

Notes to Chapter Six

- 1 Cf. Nagy 1990: 139.
- 2 < κτέρες = νεκροί (Hsch.). Güntert 191: 161-62.
- 3 Cf. Skt. *tāra*, Thieme 1952: 14-15; and Schmitt 1967: 190; doubts are expressed by Leumann 1953: 190-91.
- 4 van Windekens 1942: 146-48, who later (1969: 186-89) recanted; Kretschmer 1947: 13-26.
- 5 Knobloch 1967: 39-44.
- 6 Malachi 1:11; Levin 1967: 31-50.
- 7 /N/ becomes nu: e.g. νῆμερτες < *n* + ἀμαρτάνω; becomes alpha: e.g. ἄθυρος, ἄπτερος, ἄψοφητί; becomes νη-: e.g. νηπενθής < *n* + πένθος.
- 8 Forston 2004: 29.
- 9 *Ol.* 7.7.
- 10 E.g. Tocharian A *por*, B *puwar*, “fire” = Gr. πῦρ; Tocharian AB *ku*, “dog” = Gr. κύων, German *Hund*; Tocharian A *tkam*, B *kem*, “earth” = Gr. χθών, Hittite *tekan*.
- 11 “En conclusion, pas d’étymologie établie.”
- 12 *Od.* 5.93, *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 49, *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 10, *Pl. Phdr.* 247E.
- 13 *Il.* 19.38-39.
- 14 *Hdt.* 2.86.3. See Leaf 1902: 321 on *Il.* 19.39; cf. Ameis and Hentze 1965: 5 ad loc. The operation leaves traces on the ethmoid bone; see Nicolaëff 1930; Leek 1969; and Strouhal 1986.
- 15 *Il.* 16.699-83 and 23.186-87.
- 16 *Hdt.* 2.67-68; Sandison 1963: 259-67.
- 17 Sappho fr. 189 Lobel-Page, Voigt.
- 18 Hemmerdinger 1968: 240-41; and McGready 1968: 249.
- 19 Erman and Grapow 1971: 2.366.
- 20 *Ibid.* 3.162-63.
- 21 Forbes 1971: 36.
- 22 Davidovits and Morris 1988: 66.
- 23 Heaven: *Il.* 5.504, 17.425, *Od.* 3.2, *Pind. Pyth.* 10.27, *Nem.* 6.3, *Isth.* 6.44; Zeus’ house: *Il.* 1.426 etc.
- 24 *Plut. Mor.* 685B-C, *Il.* 9.214, *Pl. Tim.* 60E.
- 25 Gardiner 1957: 27.
- 26 It does occur, however; witness both *sntr* and *sntr*, “to make divine”; Gardiner 1957: 576.
- 27 *ntr* itself gave rise to Coptic *noṗte*, suggesting a possible pronunciation /nutjʔr/.
- 28 As we saw in section 1.3 above.
- 29 Phoenician, for instance. The Masoretic vocalization of the Hebrew loan-word is *nether* (Jeremiah 2:22, Proverbs 25:20). There is no /e/ vowel in ancient Egyptian; see Gardiner 1957: 433.
- 30 Cf. Arabic *daqal*, Aramaic *diqlah*, etc.
- 31 Greeks used cork only as a ballast for fishing-nets; Aesch. *Cho.* 506, *Pind. Pyth.* 2.79-80.
- 32 See Chapter 3 note 82 above.

33 Cato *Agr.* 24, Columella *Rust.* 12.25.

34 Ἀμβροσία is fully explicable entirely in terms of the Greek language as the privative of the root found in βροτός, "mortal" and βρότος, "gore" (cf. Ltn. *mors, mortis*). The whole compound is closely paralleled in Skt. *amṛta*, "not dead," used of the nectar conferring immortality, produced at the churning of the ocean.

35 *Il.* 19.38-39.

36 Hes. *Theog.* 440, *Op.* 618. The Semitic imagination, no less awed by the sea, conjured up the spectres of Tiamat and Leviathan.

37 Hall 1901-1902: 160; Gardiner 1957: 595, however, defines the term as "the Ocean supposed to surround the earth." Cf. Faulkner 1961: 268.

38 See Chapter Five note 125 above.

39 Cf. Hebrew *Kaphtor*, Deuteronomy 2:23, etc.

40 Gardiner 1957: 233.

41 Sakellarakis 1984, with bibl.

42 See Chapter Five note 119 above.

43 Hope Simpson 1981: 195.

44 Acragas as Rhodian colony: Polyb. 9.27; Telemachus: Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.82d [= 1.82 Drachmann]. Dunbabin 1948: 310.

45 Ap. Rhod. 4.811; the first occurrence is in *Od.* 4.563.

46 *Od.* 17.383-85. For the bard as itinerant δῆμιουργός, see Burkert 1992b: 23.

47 Bard as the queen's protector: *Od.* 3.267-72; later poets enjoyed royal patronage: e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 1.17-18.

48 Cf. Hsch. ἀοιδός· ὁ εὐνοῦχος. Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 176-77. Could Demodocus' blindness be a mythic displacement of castration, as in the Oedipus story? Page (1972) assumes the Phemius is also blind, because the suitors hand him his lyre rather than letting him take it himself (*Od.* 1.153-54). Emmet Robbins reminds me, however, that there is no other reason to think him blind, and he may be handed his lyre as a sign of respect for his special status, which may be the point of the allusion in Pind. *Ol.* 1.17-18 also.

49 Cf. *Od.* 8.64. For Homer's own blindness, see Graziosi 2002: 125-63.

50 Manniche 1991: 97-107.

51 Boeo fr. 2 Powell.

52 *Il.* 9.186-89.

53 Scholars debate whether the epics depict any historical society, and if so, which. Raaflaub 1997: 628 argues that, since "the social background of heroic poetry needed to be modern enough to be understandable, but archaic enough to be believable," it reflects the social reality of the late ninth-and eighth-century Ionia.

54 *KUB XIV 2*. Gurney 1961: 46, Huxley 1968: 5-6. For the linguistic aspect of the Aḫḫijawa/ Achaea-question, see Finkelberg 1988.

55 Albright 1950: 170.

56 *Od.* 3.71-74.

57 An anonymous referee points out to me that "an interpreter" (*targumannu[m]*, ancestor of "dragoman", see Black, George and Postgate 2000: 400) was noted at transactions in Mari centuries earlier, as a translator for Caphtorite (Cretan?) merchants," cf. Burkert 2000: 4 = 2003: 20.

58 Herdsman attacked by his own dogs: *Od.* 21.362-65 < *Gilgamesh* 6.63 [= 84 *ANET*³]; things thrown in insult: *Od.* 20.299 < *Gilgamesh* 6.159 [= 85 *ANET*³]; εὐρυάγυια: *Il.* 2.141, etc., cf. *rībitim*. Division of the universe by lot: Schmidt 1981; herdsman attacked by dogs and ox-foot throwing: Gordon 1952; "wide-wayed" cities: West

1988: 169. Perhaps relevant is possible Homeric borrowing from another Semitic tongue, Ugaritic, on which see Ullendorf 1963-64, and Brock 1968. West 1997 looks fair to be the definitive study of these relationships for some time to come.

59 Slatkin 1991: 15, Dowden 1996: 52-53; Greek tragedians also, though for different reasons, considered certain subjects taboo; see Chapter Three note 45 above.

60 *Il.* 6.130-40, *Od.* 11.321-25, 24.74-75, PY Xa 102. Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 127.

61 Non-Greek-speakers: *Il.* 2.804, 867, 4.437-38; Trojan not the same as Greek: cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 113, Verg. *Aen.* 2.423; τρώκτης: *Od.* 15.415-16. Homer also betrays a distaste for the Phoenician invention of writing (*Il.* 6.168-69). See Monro 1901: 2.33 ad *Od.* 14.289. For more recent discussions of Homer's Phoenicians, see Muhly 1970; Wathélet 1974; Coldstream 1982; and Isaac 2004: 324-25.

62 To an Ionic substrate were added Aeolic forms (ἐγών, πῖσυρες, ἄμμες and ὕμμες) and Doric ones (τεῖν, τύνη, etc.). See Monro 1881: 252. Dialectal variants account for many Homeric doublets; see Stromberg 1960; and Haslam 1976.

63 Parry 1971: 7.

64 See Watkins 1995: 19-21.

65 Tantalus in Hades: *Od.* 11.582; on Olympus: Alcman fr. 79 *PMG*, *PMGF* = 100 Calame, Pind. *Ol.* 1; Achilles in Hades: *Od.* 11.467; in the isles of the blessed: Pind. *Ol.* 2.79, Ibycus 291 *PMG*, *PMGF*, Simon. 558 *PMG* = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.814-15 [= 293 Wendel]. Solmsen 1982; and Edwards 1985.

66 Pind. *Nem.* 7.20-24 (see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922: 173); Pl. *Phdr.* 243A; Stesich. 192 *PMG*, *PMGF*.

67 Yama's cow-pasture: *gávyūtiḥ*, *RV* 10.14.2. Puhvel 1969 = 1981: 210-15; Lincoln 1977.

68 *Hadards-liod*: Vigfusson and Powell 1883: 1.117-23; cf. Lincoln 1980: 46-47.

69 Island: Hes. *Op.* 171; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.70-71; plain: 4.561-70.

70 Diod. Sic. 1.12.9-10.

71 Ap. Rhod. 4.811.

72 Esp. Bernal 1987-91; Duhoux 1988; West 1988; 1997; Burkert 1992b. These scholars' views were to some degree anticipated by Bogan 1658; Lauth 1867; Parker 1917.

73 Cf. Hes. *apud* Athen. 116B; Soph. fr. 712 Radt, Tobit 6:5. Curtis 1991. The oxyrhynchus-fish hieroglyph (K4 on the sign-list) is the determinative in the word *ḥ3.t*, "corpse" (Bidoli 1976: 51); *w ḥt* means both "place of embalming" and "kitchen." Kurlansky 2002: 43 writes that "in the nineteenth century [AD], when mummies from Saqqara and Thebes were taken from tombs and brought to Cairo, they were taxed as salted fish before being permitted entry into the city." Empedocles was once incarnated as a fish (31 B 117 Diels-Kranz).

74 Cf. Hdt. 2.50.

75 Ruijgh 1957; West 1988: 156-59.

76 Finley 1965: 39; Raaflaub 1998.

77 Parry 1930: 134-37 = 1971: 7; 1932 = 1971: 325-64. Cf. von Humbolt 1963: 254 (I thank Daniel Chamberlain for this reference.)

78 The two earliest Greek inscriptions seem to be those on an Attic oinochoe of ca 700 found near the Dipylon gate, on which see Powell 1988, with bibl., and a proto-Corinthian pyxis of ca 670 found on Aegina, on which see Payne 1931: 98, fig. 30. In general, see Carpenter 1933 and 1938; Powell 1991.

79 The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* might have been finished by the first quotations, like the late eighth-century (Metzger 1965) inscription on "Nestor's cup" in the Lacco Ameno museum,

Ischia (fr. 454 Hansen), which may allude to *Il.* 11.632-37 (but see West 1995: 205), and Simonides (obit 468, cf. *Marmor Parium* = 239 A 57 *FGrHist.*) fr. 8 West, which quotes *Il.* 6.146, though Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913: 273-75) thinks it rather by Semonides (floruit 664-661; cf. *Suda* s.v.; cf. Mimnermus fr. 2 West). One could, however, have quoted parts of poems not yet complete; so Davison 1955. For allusions to epics in painting, see Lowenstam 1997, with bibl.

80 Blessed existence after death: Pind. fr. 137a Maehler, Soph. fr. 837 Radt, Isoc. 4.28; initiates go to Elysium: Guthrie 1935: 155-56; Mylonas 1961: 283; *κυκέων*: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 206-11; that it may have been narcotic: Wasson and Hofmann 1978; *pace* Burkert 1987: 108-109. I will argue against the narcotic hypothesis in Chapter Eight below; *νηπενθήεις*: *Od.* 4.220-32.

81 Mysteries begun in Erechtheus' time: *Marmor Parium* 239 A 14 *FGrHist.*; expanded under Peisistratus: Mylonas 1961: 77-105.

82 Athena's triumph over Poseidon: Hdt. 8.55.

83 Aeschylus: test. 93-94 Radt; Alcibiades: Lys. 6; Andoc. *On the Mysteries*; Plut. *Alc.* 19; Diagoras: *Suda* s.v., Tatianus *Ad Gr.* 27, Abû-L-Uafâ Al-Mubaššir ibn Fâtik, *Life of Zeno*; Woodbury 1965 = 1991: 118-50.

84 Doso: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 122, Passow's emend.; the word for "initiates," *μύσται* comes from *μύειν*, "to keep shut."

Notes to Chapter Seven

1 For barley as the most ancient grain, see Burkert 1983a: 4-5, who cites Theophr. in Porph. *Abst.* 2.6, Schol. *Il.* 1.449b, Schol. *Od.* 3.441, *Suda* o 907, Eust. 132.25 and 133.12, to which add Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 6 [= 292b-c]. Ar. *Nub.* 261-62 in his comic parody of sacrificial ritual substitutes *παῖπάλῃ* meaning "fine flour" with reference to the subtlety of Socrates' speech, and perhaps also to achieve the "special effect" of having Strepsiades when powdered with flour turn white and so resemble Chaerephon.

2 Hdt. 1.66 (of the Arcadians), Pl. *Resp.* 372c, Lucr. 5.939, Plin. *NH* 7.191, Verg. *G.* 1.148, and Levine 1988-89.

3 *Il.* 5.341, *Od.* 1.319, etc.

4 *δᾶ* = *δῆ*, "earth" according to Schol. Aesch. *Ag.* 1072, *Et. Mag.* 60.8, Hsch. s.v. *δῆ*, but *δηαί* means "barley-corns" according to *Et. Mag.* 264.13. See further Kretschmer 1902 and Hampe 1968.

5 According to Philet. Ap. Gramm. post Orionem p. 185 S, but explained by Hesychius as a reference to Demeter's grief (*ἄχος*) at the loss of her daughter.

6 This list is from Cole 2000: 136.

7 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 208; Richardson 1974: 344-48.

8 Paus. 1.38.6 + references from LSJ s.v. *πέλαγος*.

9 Her arrival: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 96-97; her gifts: *ibid.* 470-82, Isocr. 4.28, Cic. *Leg.* 2.36.

10 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 415.

11 *Ibid.* 154.

12 239 A 9 and 12 *FGrHist.* = Jacoby 1904: 5-6.

13 Pind. *Ol.* 1.38.

14 Hdt. 2.171, Clem. Al. *Protr.* pp. 12-13 Potter.

15 E.g. Lloyd 1993: 3.210.

16 Baudy 1995: 183.

17 Other forms: Pherrephatta, Proserpina; possible Egyptian origin: Diod. Sic. 1.29, 96, Lactant. *Inst. Div.* 1.21.

18 See Chapter One note 27 and Chapter Four note 94 above.

19 Picard's entire sentence (1927: 327) reads: "En regardant de près—et je ne fais qu'indiquer ici cette idée—on apercevrait que le caractère de Déméter a été infiniment plus 'occidental,' si l'on peut dire, que celui d'Isis; ce n'est point exagérer que noter combien, de celle-ci, les aventures sentent encore le harem."

20 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 191-204.

21 Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, Apollod. *Bibl.* 4.502-504; Clinton 1992: 14-27.

22 *Orphica* fr. 52 Kern, with Marcovich 1986, Herod. 6.19. A dog's bark is rendered αὐ αὐ in Ar. *Vesp.* 903; on dogs as the image of shamelessness, see κυνωπήζ, "dog-eyed, i.e. shameless one" *Il.* 1.159, 3.180, etc., Graver 1995. For Baubo see Graf 1974: 194-99; for βαυβών see Nelson 2000: 81-82; for Iambe see Brown 1997: 16-24.

23 Heubeck 1972a = 1984: 297-305, Robertson 1998: 571. For Heubeck, accepting as he does Burkert's Greek origin for Ἠλύσιον (see Chapter Two note 4 above), this is not a folk-, but a real, etymology.

24 *Papyrus Chester Beatty I* (1150 B.C.) recto 4,1 - 4,3; translation by Lichtheim 1976: 2.216.

25 Hdt. 2.59-60, Diod. Sic. 1.85. Iambe/Baubo's jest could come from a fertility-rite or the superstition of bakers, who were usually women (Hdt. 3.150, 7.187, etc.). I have heard of a baxter in Mértola in the Alentejo, who at each baking would moon her oven and urge the loaves to rise as high as her skirt: *Levanta-te tão alto como a minha saia se levanta acima do meu rabo*. The two spheres are not mutually exclusive, for Greek, like English, can speak of pregnancy as "having a bun in the oven" (τὸν ἰπνὸν τοῦς ἄρτους ἐπιβάλλειν, Hdt. 5.92.η'.2).

26 Don and Patricia Brothwell, for example, write (1998: 95): "Probably the Egyptians were the first to experiment with yeast-fermented doughs, and were responsible for the earliest leavened bread. Both literary and art sources show that the ancient Egyptians kneaded dough with their feet—at least in the larger bakery—for millers and bakers were professional by c. 2000 B.C." For Barley (*it*) specifically, see Darby, Ghalioungui and Grivetti 1977: 2.479-86.

27 Sallares 1991: 31.

28 I Corinthians 15:35-44. The rabbis came to interpret Psalms 72:16b ("and they shall flourish in the city like grass upon the earth"—so the Masoretic text, but the reading is disputed) as a promise of the resurrection (see Queen Cleopatra's words to Rabbi Meir in *The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin* 90B), and Jesus uses the image of the seed that must die to bear fruit in John 12:24. So too the Qur'an *sura* 16 verse 4 (cf. 7:55).

29 See Chapter Seven note 9 above.

30 For men "ploughing" women, see Soph. *Ant.* 569, Men. *Dysc.* 842-43, fr. 682 Koerte; for the child as a "shoot" (ἔρνος), see Aesch. *Eum.* 661.

31 Hdt. 6.107.1.

32 Soph. *OT* 981-82, cf. Pl. *Resp.* 571c and see Dodds 1951: 47, 61-62 n. 105; Devereux 1976 does not discuss the Oedipal dream; Artemidorus *Onirocr.* 1.79; cf. Suet. *Illu.* 7, Plut. *Caes.* 32, Dio 37.52.2, 41.24.2.

33 Loss of tooth: Artemidorus *Onirocr.* 1.31 and 2.67; loss of any body-part: Petr. *Sat.* 104; witches: Eur. *Hipp.* 513, Theocr. 2.53, Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 4.4, Apul. *Met.* 3.18.

34 I thank Linda Wright for providing me with a copy of Glenn's elusive article.

35 He cites Lorand and Feldman (1955), who write at page 159, "According to our conception the tooth is therefore really a primal penis (Urpenis), whose libidinal role,

however, the child who has been weaned must learn to renounce. It is not that the tooth is therefore the symbol of the penis but rather, to speak paradoxically, that the later maturing penis is the symbol of the more primitive boring implement, the tooth." They also point out (at 147) that among Australian aborigines tooth evulsion is homologous as a *rite de passage* to circumcision.

36 By Onians 1951: 233.

37 "The tooth. . . looks like a gleaming white seed-corn," writes Harrison (1927: 435).

38 Head = flower: *Il.* 8.306, 14.499, *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 12, Stesichorus *SLG* S15 col. ii 15, *Livy* 1.54.6, *Verg. Aen.* 9.437; the Spartoi: *Pind. Pyth.* 9.82, *Isth.* 1.30, 7[6].10, *Eur. HF* 5, 252-53, *Phoen.* 657-75, *Bacch.* 1274, *IG* 14.1285 ii 9, 1292 i 3, *Paus.* 9.10.1, *Ov. Met.* 3.26-130; Jason's sown men: *Ap. Rhod.* 3.407-421, 495-500, 1278-1407, Pherecydes 3 F 22a-b *FGrHist*.

39 For the onset of beard-growth marking sexual maturity, see Gerber 1982: 111 ad *Pind. Ol.* 1.68.

40 Adult teeth come in at seven: Solon fr. 27.1-2 West; they are φραστῆρες: *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 418.

41 Having teeth: *Plin. NH* 11.64 [168-69]; losing teeth: *Od.* 18.97-99, Semonides fr. 7.18 West, *Plaut. Capt.* 798, *Verg. Aen.* 5.469-70; Matz 1994.

42 *CT* 269, trans. Faulkner 1973: 1.205.

43 Darby, Ghalioungui and Grivetti 1977: 2.483, Germer 1989: 26-30, not to be confused with the basalt sculpture of the same name from the First Dynasty tomb of Djer at Abydos, on which see Leahy 1977.

44 Ikram 2003: 136-37.

45 The names "Elysium" and "Eleusis": see Chapter One note 99 above; Elysium as the destination of Eleusinian initiates: see Chapter Six note 76 above.

46 Sappho 211 b(iii) Lobel-Page = 211 c Voigt.

47 *Pl. Phdr.* 296b, *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 6.7.3, *Eubulus* fr. 13 *PCG*, cf. *Isaiah* 17:10.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1 E.g. *Pind.* frs. 129 and 137 Maehler, *Soph.* fr. 837 Radt, *Ar. Ran.* 154-57, *Verg. Aen.* 6.640-41. Brenk 1993 emphasizes the eschatological aspect of the mysteries, downplayed in many recent studies.

2 Origen *Contra Haereses* 5.163 [= vol. 16.3 p. 3150 Migne].

3 The κυκῆων, *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 208-209.

4 *Il.* 1.194-99. Wilber 1981: 104-109.

5 πάσχει πάθος οἶον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις κατοργιαζόμενοι (*Plut.* fr. 178 Sandbach); see Zaleski 1987: 18.

6 Shay 1994: 98.

7 Kelly, Greyson and Stevenson 1999-2000, with bibl.

8 Moody 1975: 15-16.

9 *Ibid.* 77-81.

10 *Hsch. s.v. μύστης* and *Suda s.v. μυστήρια*; μύειν is onomatopoeic, like English "mum".

11 Greek εὐφημεῖτε, Latin *favete linguis*.

12 Moody 1975: 45-49.

13 *Hdt.* 8.65.

14 *Paus.* 10.32.17. For Greek ghosts, see Johnston 1999, who does not discuss this

passage.

15 Moody 1975: 49-55.

16 λάμπει μὲν μένος αἰλίου/ τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,/ φοινικορόδοις <δ'> ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν/ καὶ λιβάνων σκιαρᾶν < >/ καὶ χρυσοκάρποισιν βέβηθε <δενδρέοις>, Pind. fr. 129.1-5 Maehler.

17 ἔντευθεν αὐλῶν τις σε περίεισι πνοή/ ὄψει τε φῶς καλλίστον ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε, Ar. *Ran.* 154-55, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.640-41.

18 Moody 1975: 56-64.

19 Lloyd-Jones 1967: 211 n. 8 = 1990: 172 n. 8.

20 μυστήρια/ πολλῶ ἀληθέστερα μεμύημαι/ ἰον φέρις. τὸ δὲ πο-/ π]αρ' ἐμοῦ νύκ<τ>α μοι/]αν. ἐγὼ δέ σοι πολλήν/]εῖδον, ἐγὼ τῶν ἀφα/ π]λησίον διὰ νυκτὸς/]ησα τὸ πῦρ πόθεν/] τὴν Κόρην εἶδον, *P. Milan* 20 col. i (= Vogliano 1937: 177).

21 Moody 1975: 65-70.

22 Ibid. 70-77.

23 *Il.* 22.209-13.

24 Cf. Simon 1959: 75ff.

25 Moody 1975: 82-87.

26 Plut. *Mor.* 163B-168A.

27 γίνεσθαι δέ φασι καὶ εὐσεβεστέρους καὶ δικαιότερους καὶ κατὰ πᾶν βελτίονας ἑαυτῶν τοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνήσαντας (Diod. Sic. 5.49.6).

28 Plut. *Sulla* 26; I owe this reference to Alexander G. Thein.

29 Moody 1975: 87-95.

30 The lines are: ὀλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἰς' ὑπὸ χθόν'·/ οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν,/ οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν (Pind. fr. 137 Maehler). It is Clement of Alexandria (*strom.* 3.3.17) who tells us, as we might in any case have guessed, that Pindar is here speaking of the mysteries.

31 ὥς τρισόλβιοι/ κεῖνοι βροτῶν, οἱ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη/ μόλωσ' ἐς Ἄιδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ/ ζῆν ἔστι τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἔχειν κακά (Soph. fr. 837 Radt).

32 πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπώδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἴτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρὼς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπῆντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἤδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγωνῶς καὶ ἄφετος περιιὼν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. (Plut. fr. 178 Sandbach).

33 Zaleski 1987: 153-205.

34 Moody 1975: 7.

35 Arist. fr. 15 Rose.

36 ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι (Pl. *Phd.* 69C-D, cf Hdt. 7.210).

37 Pl. *Ap.* 40C-E; Epicurus *Epist.* 3.124-25.

38 *Od.* 11.488.

39 Danforth 1982: 68.

40 Democritus 68 B 1 and 1a Diels-Kranz; for the possible Egyptian allusion, see Luria 1961.

- 41 ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι/ ἤδη ἄλωκότα (Pind. *Pyth.* 3.54-55).
 42 Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* 3.96 [= 2.75-76 Drachmann].
 43 Alcestis: Eur. *Alc.* 1140-42; Sisyphus: Pherecydes 3 F 119 *FGrHist.*; Protesilaus: Eur. frs. 647-60 Nauck²; resurrection after drowning (Glaucus): Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.1.
 44 Onians 1951: 44-65, 168-73.
 45 Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.118, Verg. *Aen.* 4.684 (see also Chapter Three note 71 above).
 46 *Od.* 5.333-65.
 47 Lycoph. *Alex.* 107, cf. Euphorion fr. 127 Powell; for βύνη = "brewer's malt", see P. Holm. 15.33.
 48 Pl. *Resp.* 614B ff.
 49 Aristeas: test. 4 Davies = Hdt. 4.14-15, Bolton 1962; Aridaeus: Plut. *Mor.* 563B-568A; Cleonymus: Procl. in Pl. *Resp.* 2.114.3-4.
 50 εὐρήσσεις δ' Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνην/ παρ' δ' αὐτῇ λευκὴν ἐστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον/ ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας./ εὐρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης/ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπὶ προσθεν ἔασιν./ εἰπεῖν· Ἰῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος./ αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί./ δίψῃ δ' εἰμ(ι) αὕτη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα/ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης./ καὶ<τοῖ> σ<ο>ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ<ὸ> κρήν<η>ς./ καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσι ἀνάξει<ς>. (Orpheus 1 B 17 Diels-Kranz, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 136-62). For a recent discussion with full bibl., see Edmonds 2004: 29-110.
 51 Zuntz 1971 devotes a whole section (pages 370-76) to Egyptian analogies to the gold plates, concluding (376) that, "if, in spite of all these differences, the inspiration for the new Greek usage did, after all, come from Egypt, the all-pervading diversity of inspiration and purpose would even so make this fact all but irrelevant."
 52 Amun sends the damned leftward: P. *Bologna* 1094.2, 3-7 and P. *Anastasi* II.6, 5-7, translation: Lichtheim 1976: 2.111, cf. Wilkinson 1994: 64; Morenz 1957: 68 compares this with the Orphic text. Homer, however, reverses the Egyptian equation, making right = east and left = west (*Il.* 12.238ff). An archetypal preference for right over left: Hertz 1960: 89-113, Lloyd 1962 = 1973. The Hipponium-leaf: Janko 1984: 93.
 53 *BD* 25, 62 and vignette to 83a; see Harrison 1903: 576. On the thirstiness of the dead, see Chapter One note 25 above.
 54 Orpheus fr. 32 f, 4 Kern = 1 B 20.4 Diels-Kranz, cf. fr. 32 6, 11 Kern = 1 B 18.11 Diels-Kranz. On the omission of "like," see Kassel 1991: 388-91. The most recent discussion is Camassa's 1996, who connects the phrase with Dionysus' epithet Εἰραφιώτης.
 55 *PMG* I.5 = Betz 1986: 1.3 (cf. *PGM* III.1 and VII.628); *Derveni P.* col. vi: "and on the offerings they pour water and milk, from which they also make libations," (Laks and Most 1997: 11).
 56 The prohibition: Exodus 23:19b (twice repeated in the Torah); Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed* 3.48 [112A]; the possible Caananite source is "Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods" (*KTU* 1.23 = *CTA* 23 = *UT* 52) line 14; it is rejected by Ratner and Zuckerman 1986, who give further bibl.; for the Israelites at Pithom and Rameses, see Exodus 1:11; for Dionysus as a maker of milk, see Pind. fr. 104b Maehler (who wrongly identifies the god in question as Apollo) and Eur. *Bacch.* 704-711.
 57 ὁ τρῶσας ἰάσεται (Schol. recentiora Ar. *Nub.* 922e [= 373 Koster]).
 58 Theoc. 25.276-77.
 59 Hdt. 2.171, Hecataeus 264 F 25 *FGrHist.*, Burkert 1987: 40-41. The gesture

(sucking the forefinger, as our children suck their thumbs) is actually a sign of childishness.

60 Whinnery 1997.

61 Falls: Owens, Cook and Stevenson 1990, citing Heim 1892; cave-ins: Comer, Madow and Dixon 1967; drugs: Siegel 1981; Roberts and Owen 1988: 610.

62 Carr 1981.

63 Comer, Madow and Dixon 1967: 165.

64 Hsch. s.v. γεφυρίζω.

65 Origen loc. cit.

66 Salway and Dell 1955: 67-68.

67 Camporesi 1989.

68 Oracles of the dead: Hdt. 5.92.7, Plut. *Mor.* 109C; mirror-gazing: Paus. 7.21.12, Lucian *Ver. Hist.* 1.26, Strab. 16.2.39.

69 Ocean and Tethys are the gods' parents (*Il.* 14.201), and the sea the native element not only of its own gods, Poseidon, Nereus and Triton, but of many others also, such as Aphrodite, who was born from it (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 79-80), Dionysus, lord and leader of the whole liquid element (Plut. *Is. et Os.* 365a, quoting Pind. fr. 153 Maehler), who dives into the "wine-dark" sea to escape Lycurgus and reveals himself to pirates, Apollo Delphinus, Artemis Potamius (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.7), linked to the cult of Alpheus/Arctusa (see Chapter Two note 62 above), and Athena Tritogeneia, whom the Athenians present with a robe unfurled as a sail on the mast of Theseus' ship. Zeus, who sends water from heaven and whose sons, the Dioscuri comfort sailors as St. Elmo's fire, and the Muses who dwell in the Pierian spring. Those who pass from the physical to the spiritual world through death must therefore adapt to this watery realm. The soul is boatman of the body (Tracy 1979) and several myths tell of someone saved from drowning by fishermen (e.g. Danaë and Perseus) or a dolphin (e.g. Arion), and drowning paradoxically makes at least one person—Ino/Leucothea—immortal. ἄλλαδε, μύσται is the name of the second day of the Eleusinian mysteries, 16th Boedromion in which initiates purified their pigs, according to Polyaeus Julius, *Anthol. Graec.* 3.11.2; see Robertson 1998: 563-65.

Notes to the Afterward

1 Barfield 1928: 25.

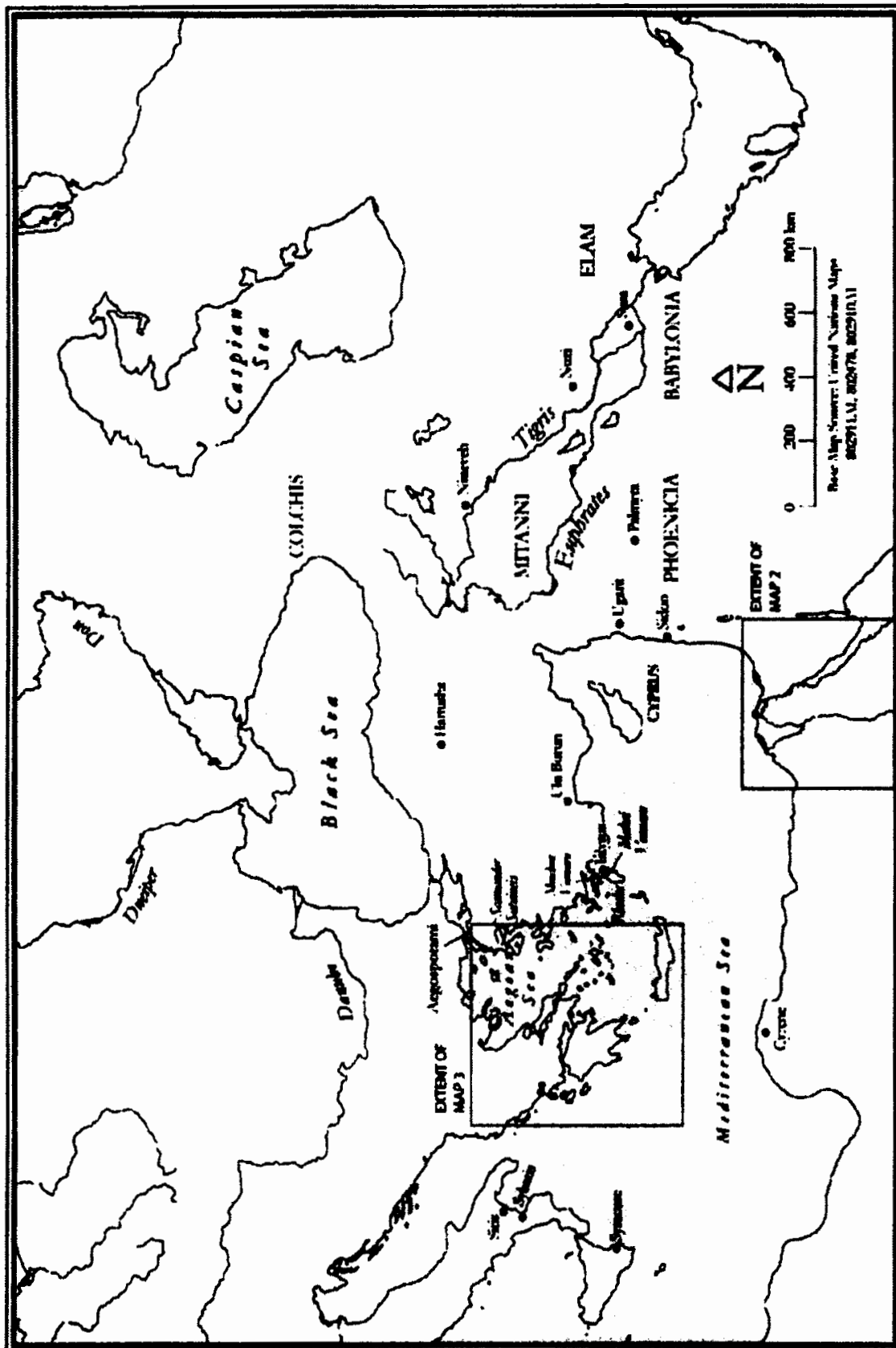
2 Heidegger, as quoted by Ricoeur 1977: 280. St. Paul promises (I Corinthians 15:44) us resurrection in a new spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν); but what could this be except a non-physical, or a non-corporeal body, and how could such an oxymoron have, in turn, any meaning save as metaphor? As Harold Bloom (2005: 98) puts it, "theology necessarily is a system of metaphors, and doctrine represents its literalization."

3 Gildersleeve 1909: 16.

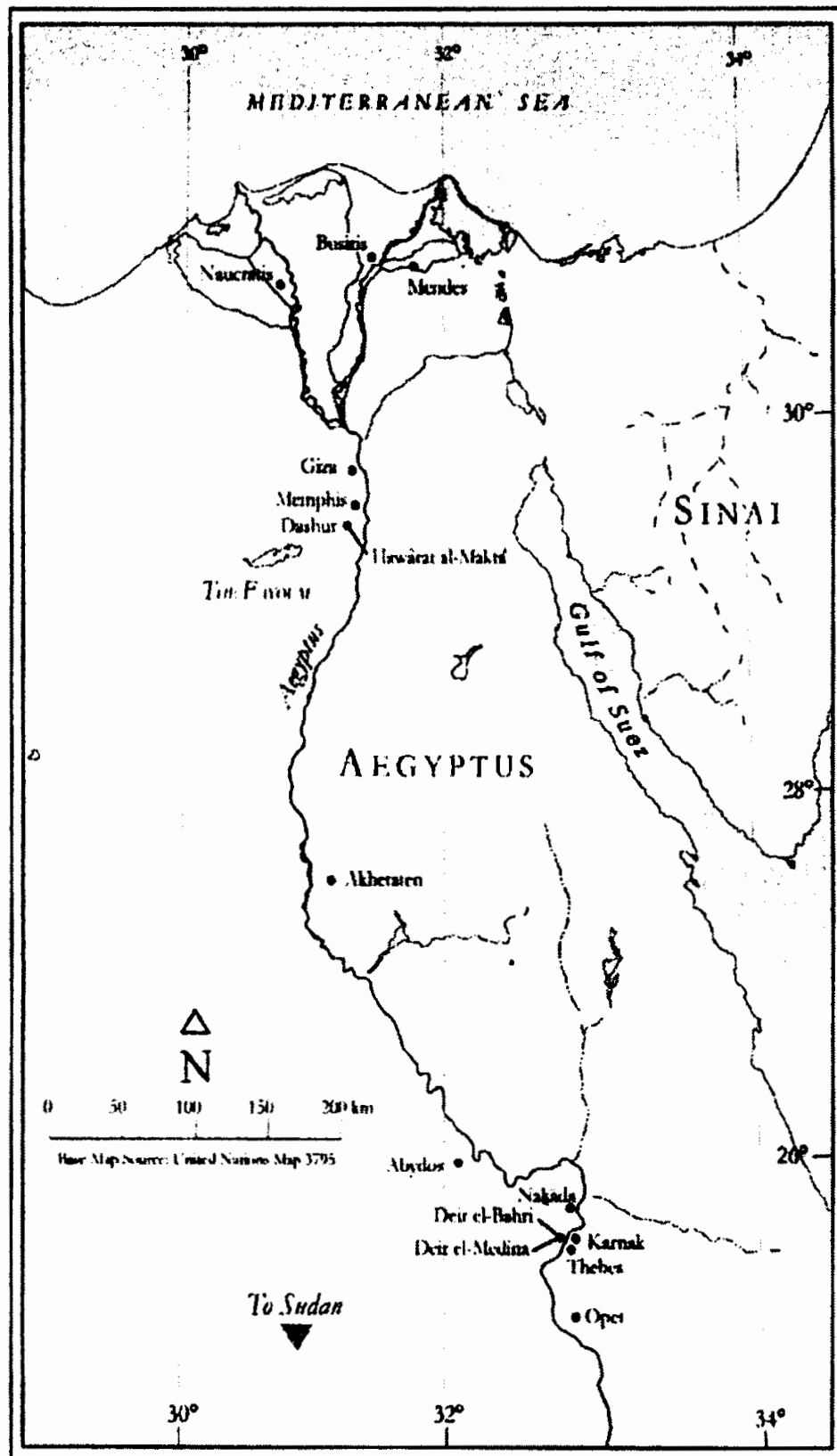
4 Joseph. *AJ* 18.3.

5 Mummy wheat: weeds preserved in the burial-wrappings of pharaohs that germinate to grow strange crops in far-off lands.

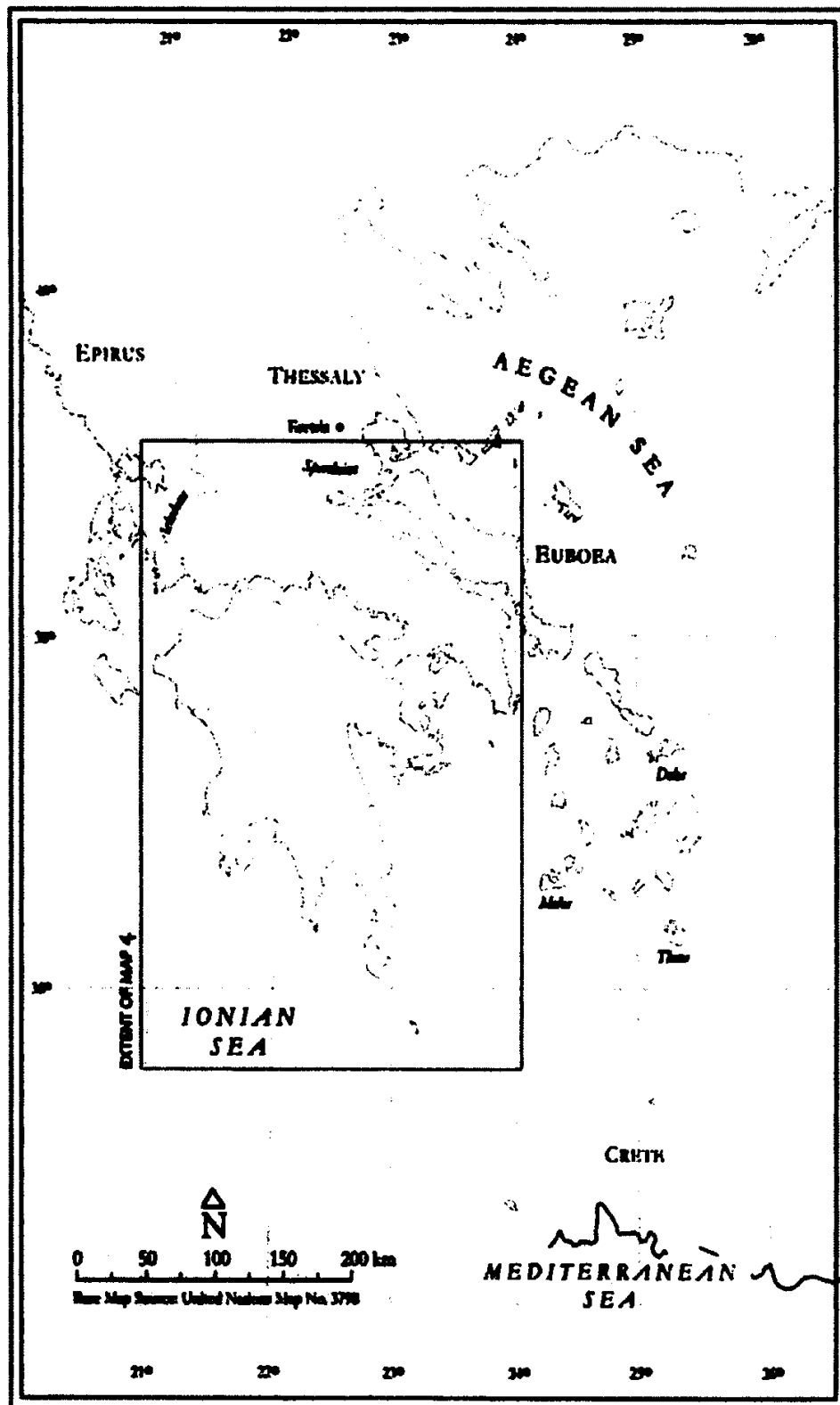
6 John Milton *Sonnet* 23 line 4.



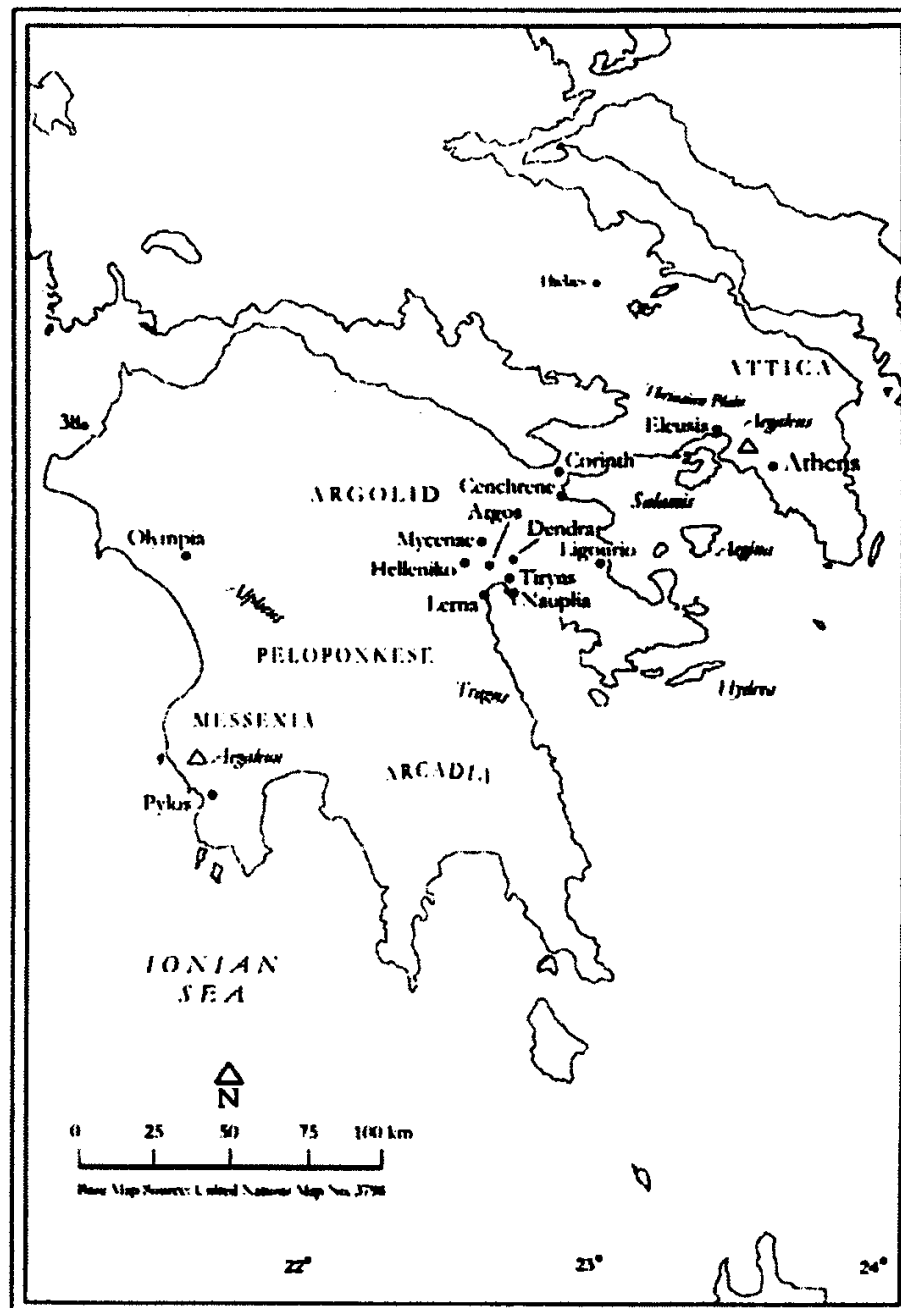
Map 1: Homer's world.



Map 2: Egypt.



Map 3: Greece.



Map 4: The Peloponnese.



Figure 1: Exterior and interior views of the "pyramid" at Helleniko in the Argolid.

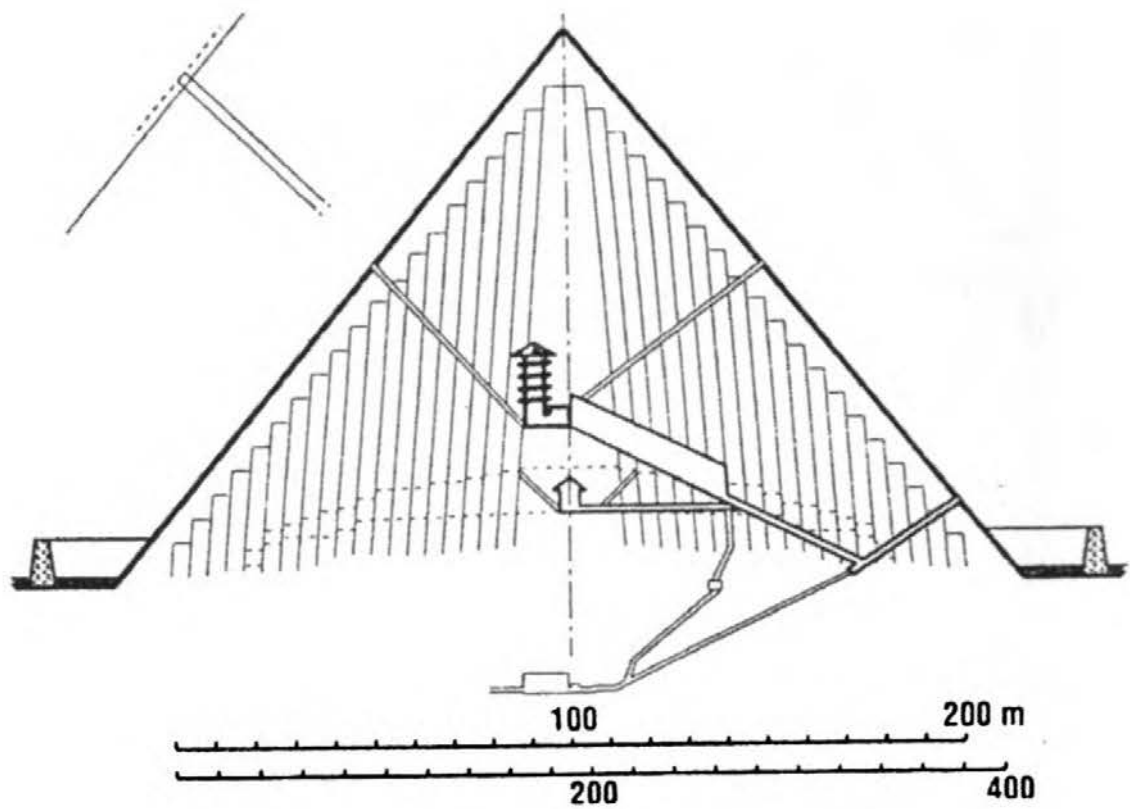


Figure 2: Vertical cross-section north-south of Cheops' pyramid.

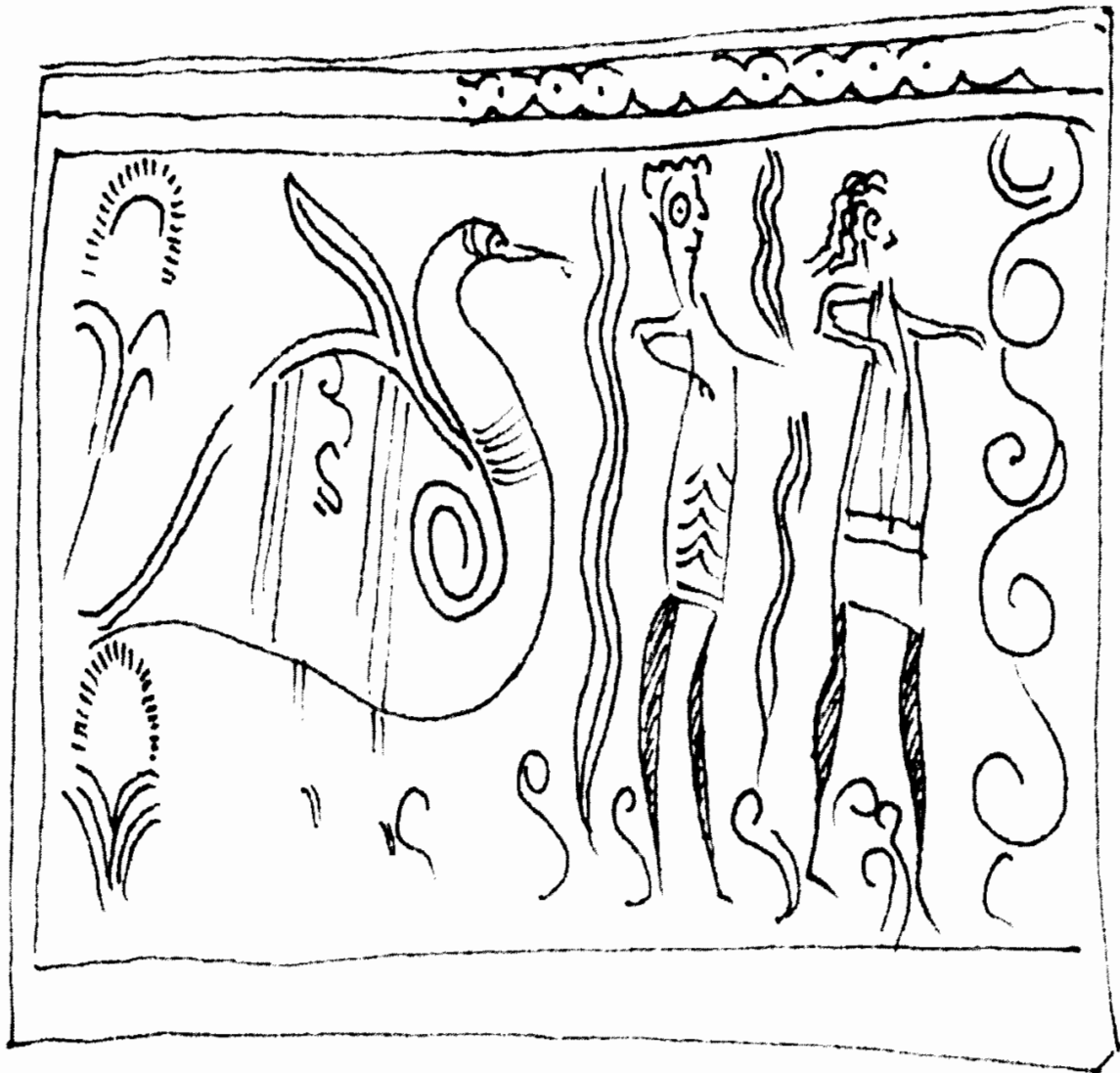


Figure 3: Bird representing soul(?).

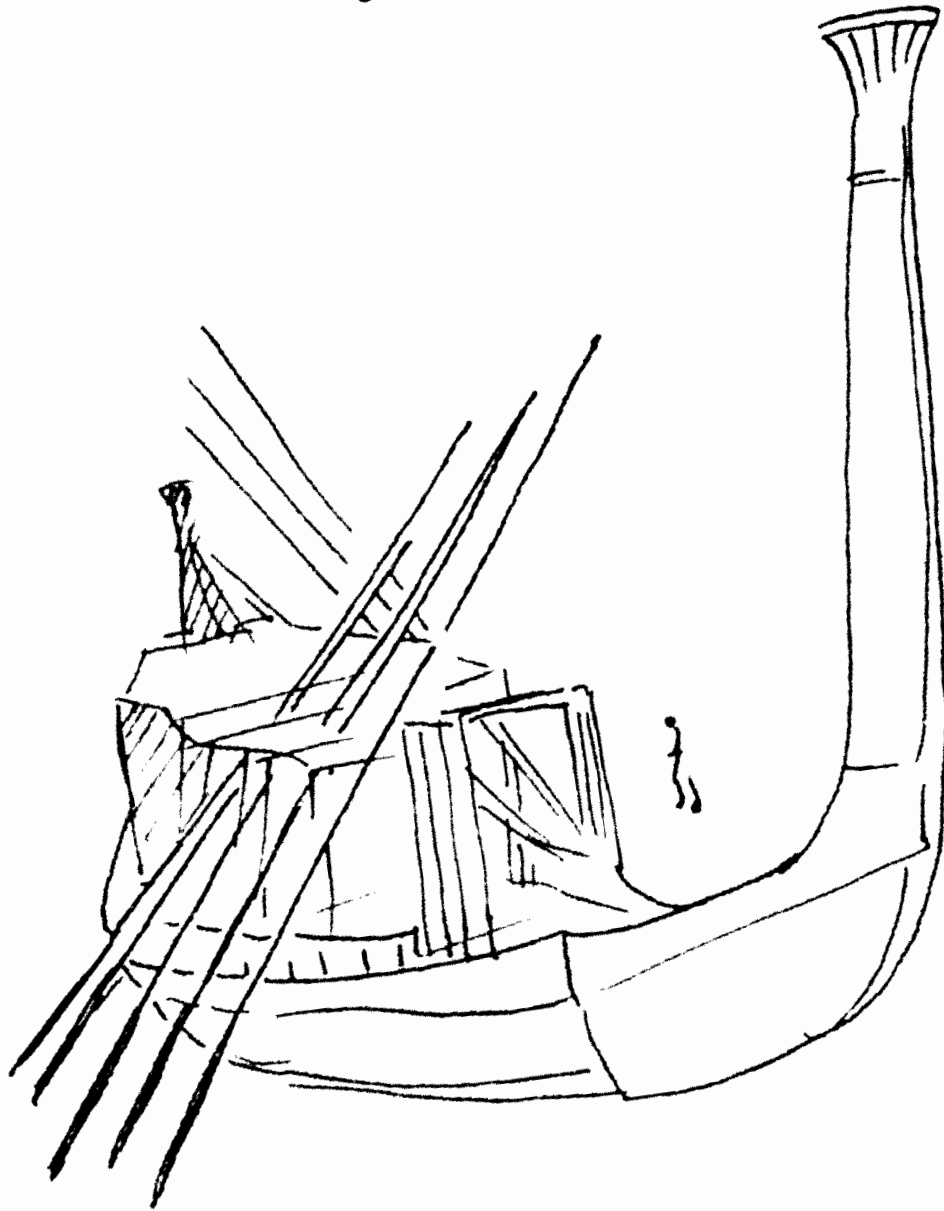


Figure 4: The boat of Cheops.



Figure 5: Scribe Ani borne to his tomb on a boat-shaped bier.



Figure 6: Charon and his boat in a swamp.

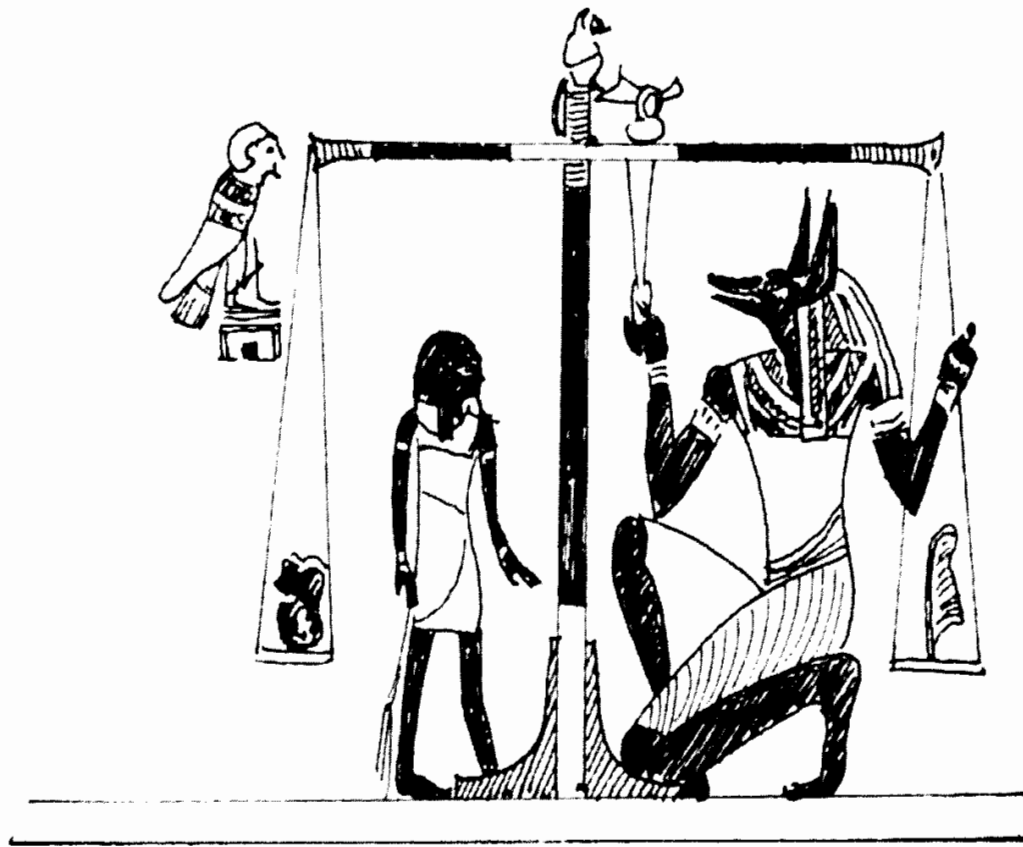


Figure 7: Weighing the heart in the afterlife.



Figure 8: Zeus armed with a thunderbolt.



Figure 9: Odysseus and the Sirens, showing the eye on the prow of his ship.

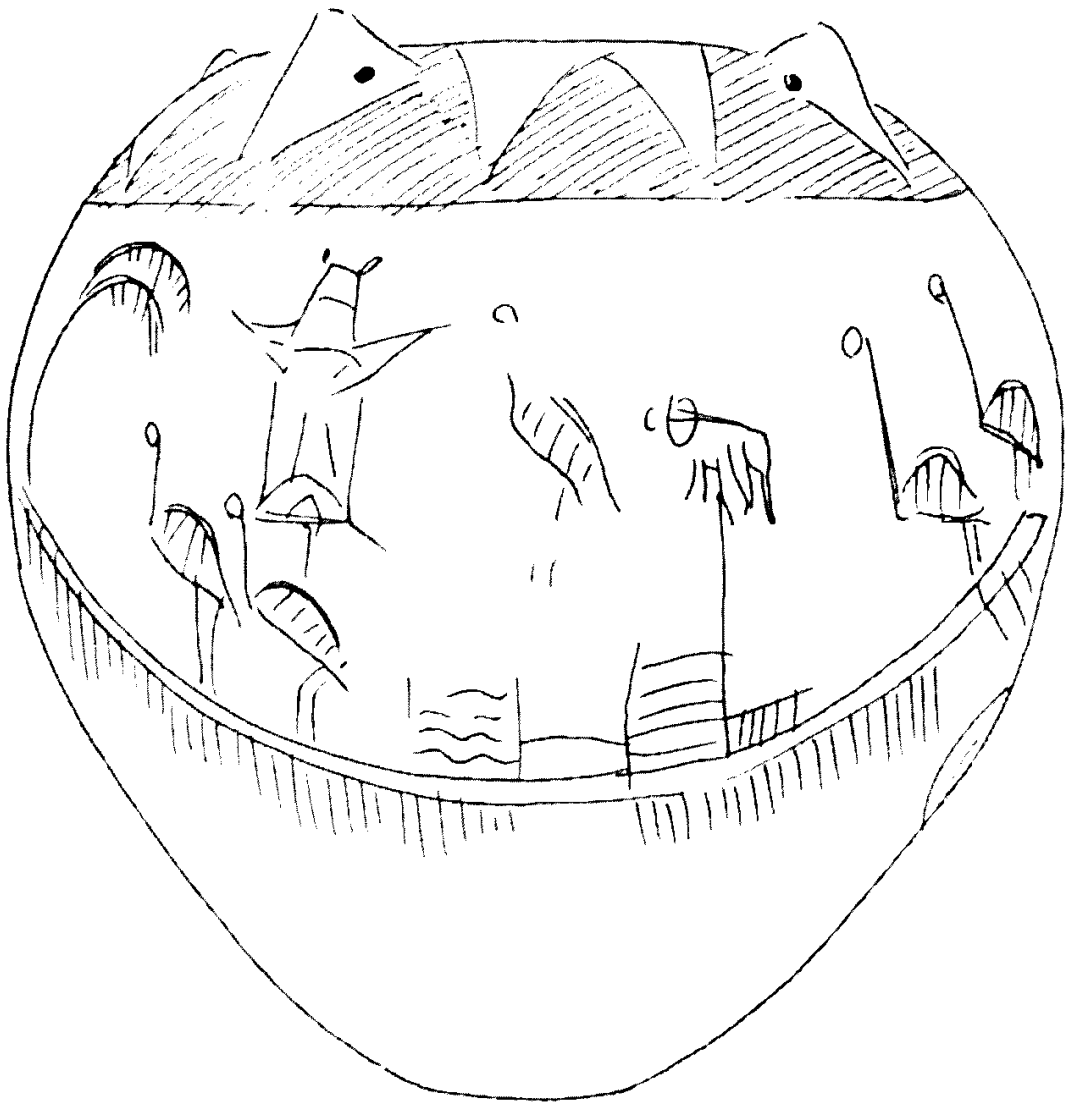


Figure 10: Pre-dynastic “floats” bearing portable chapels.

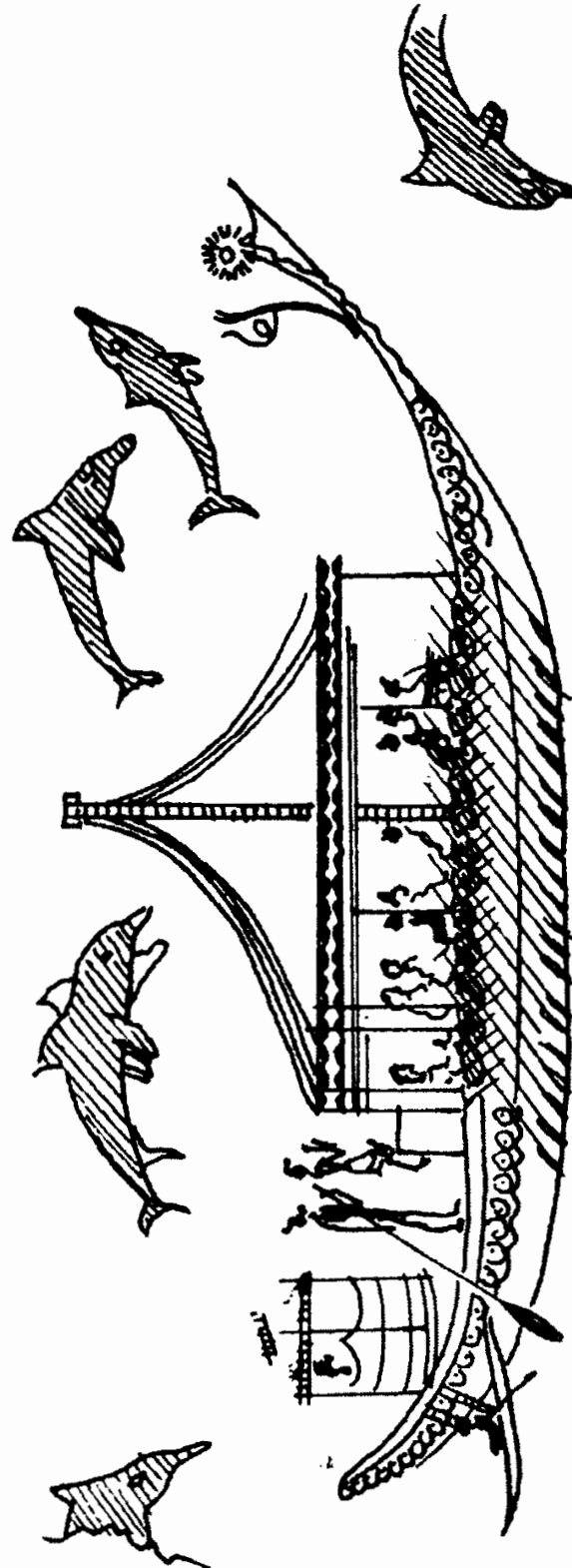


Figure 11: Aegean ship-festival.



Figure 12: Dionysus on ship-board.

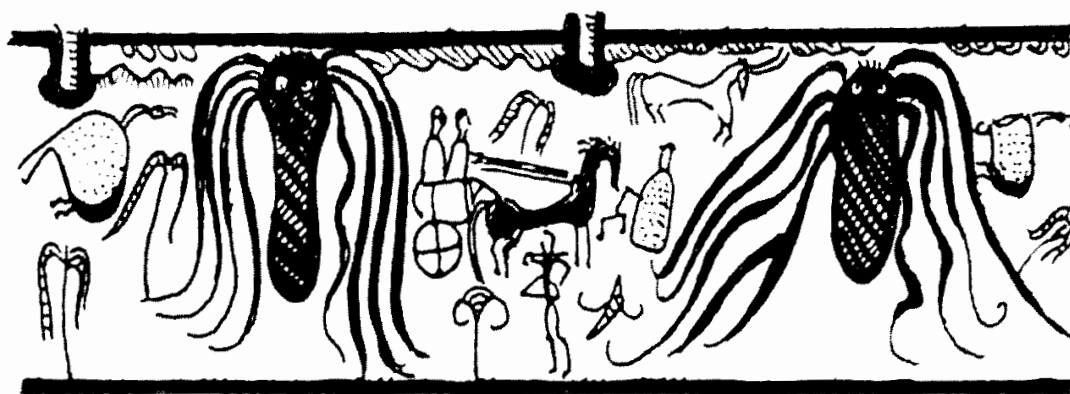


Figure 13: Orion and other constellations.

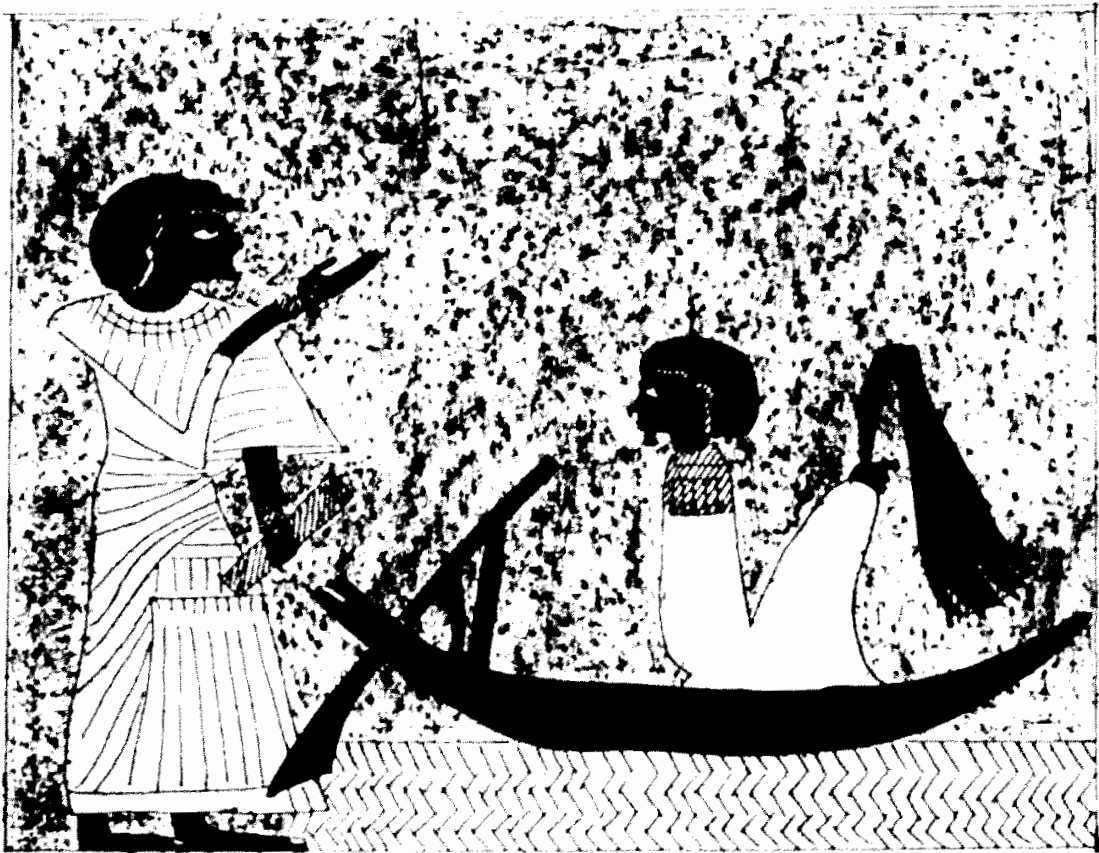


Figure 14: The late Ani greets Mahaf.



Figure 15: Charon looking over his shoulder.



Figure 16: Captives with heads twisted backward.

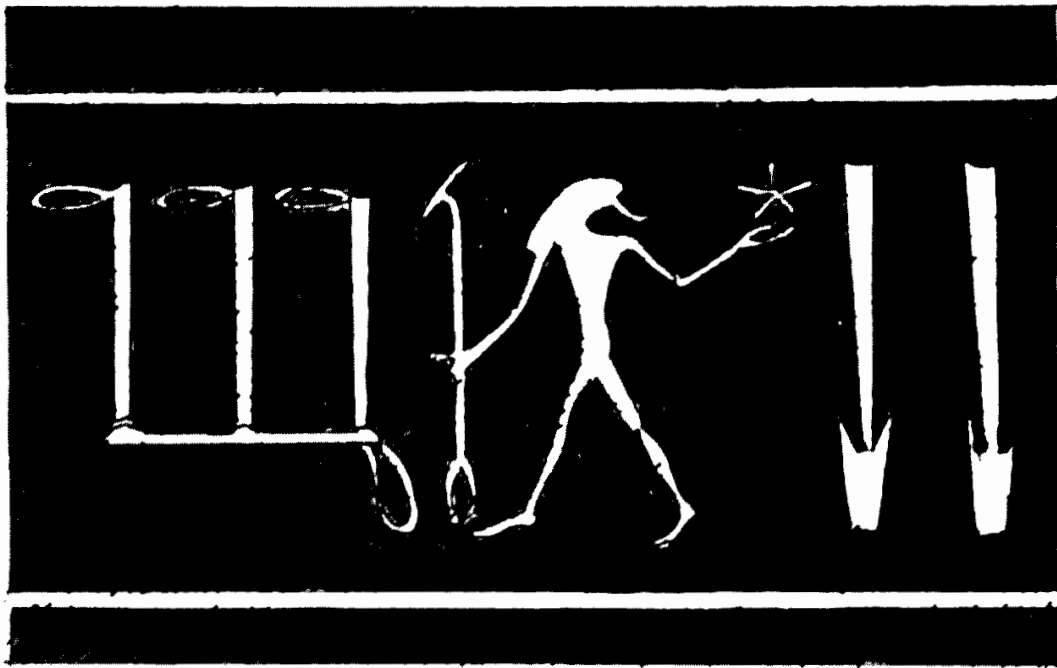


Figure 17: Orion looking over his shoulder.

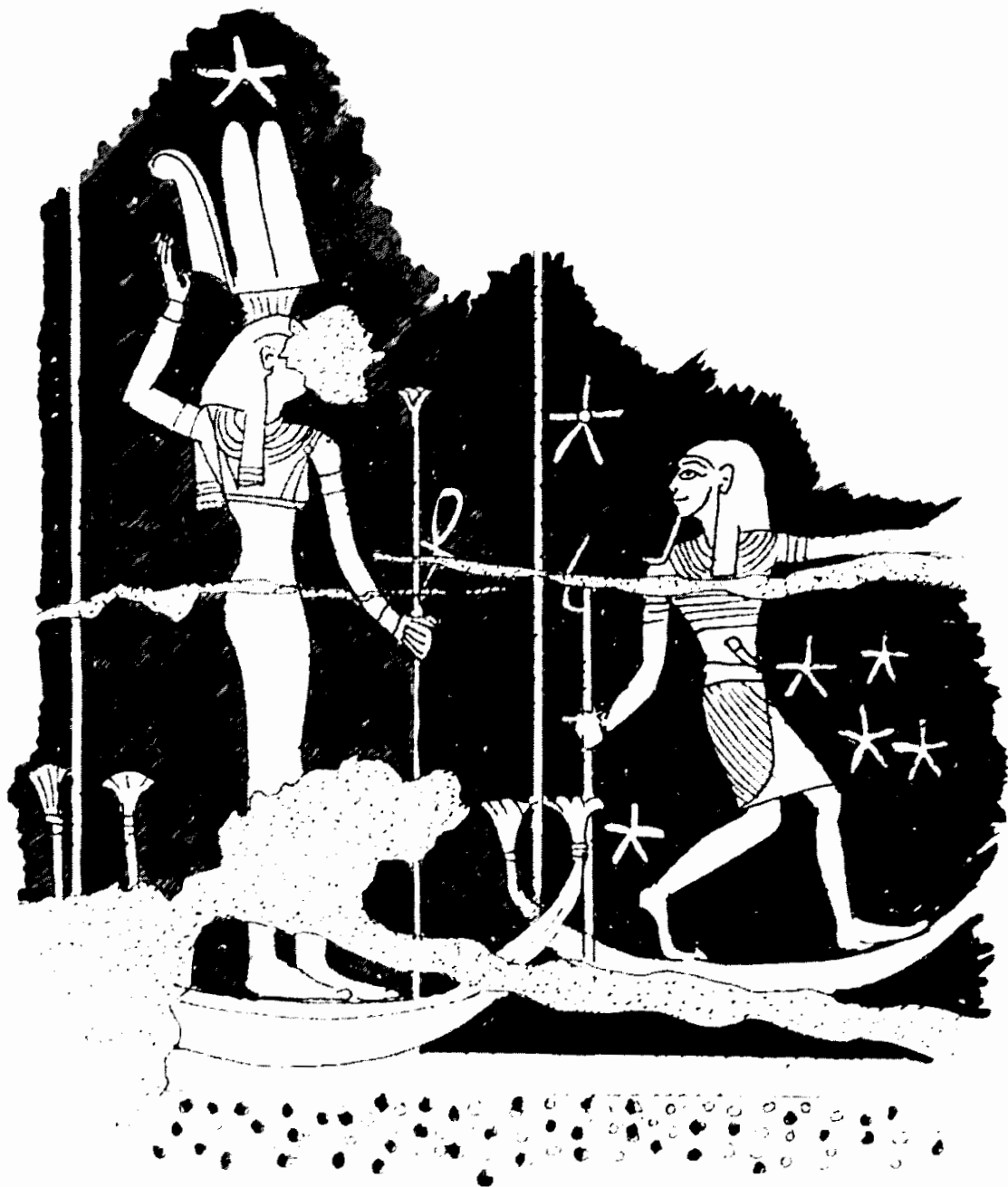


Figure 18: Orion looking over his shoulder at Sirius.

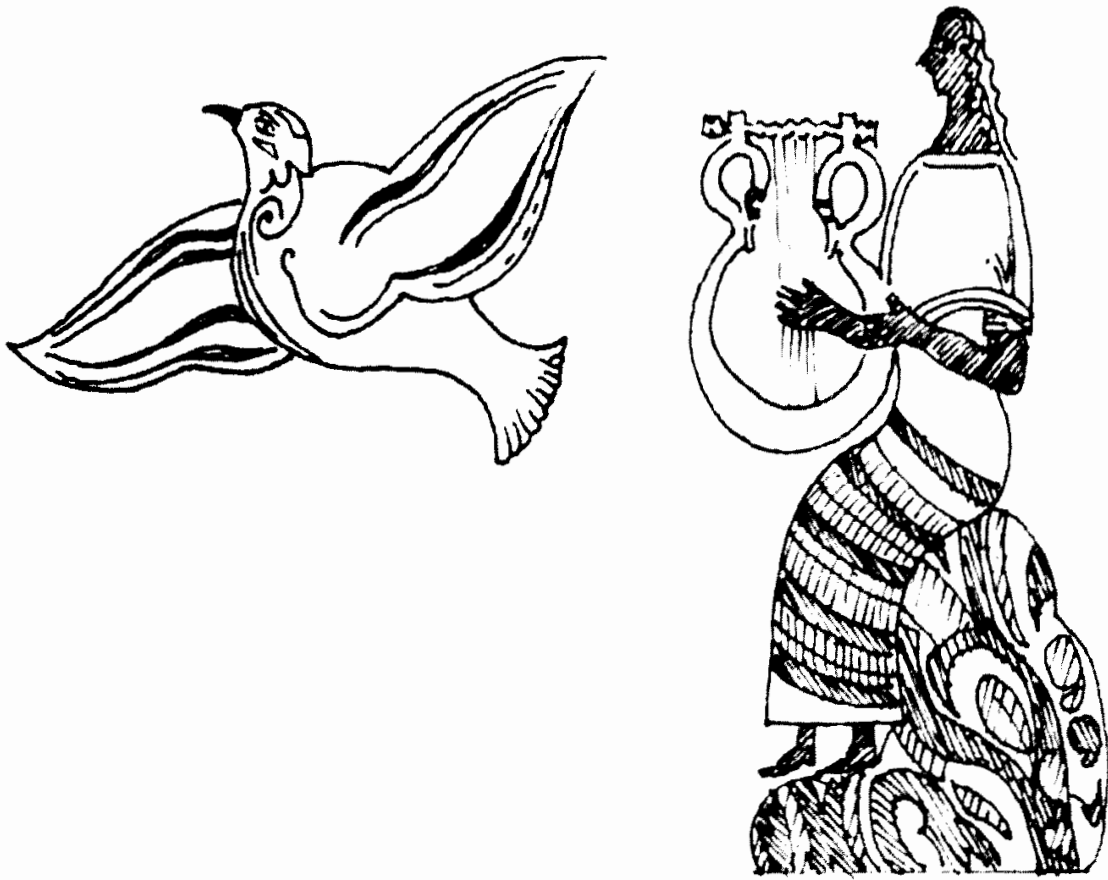


Figure 19: A “feathered utterance” (?)

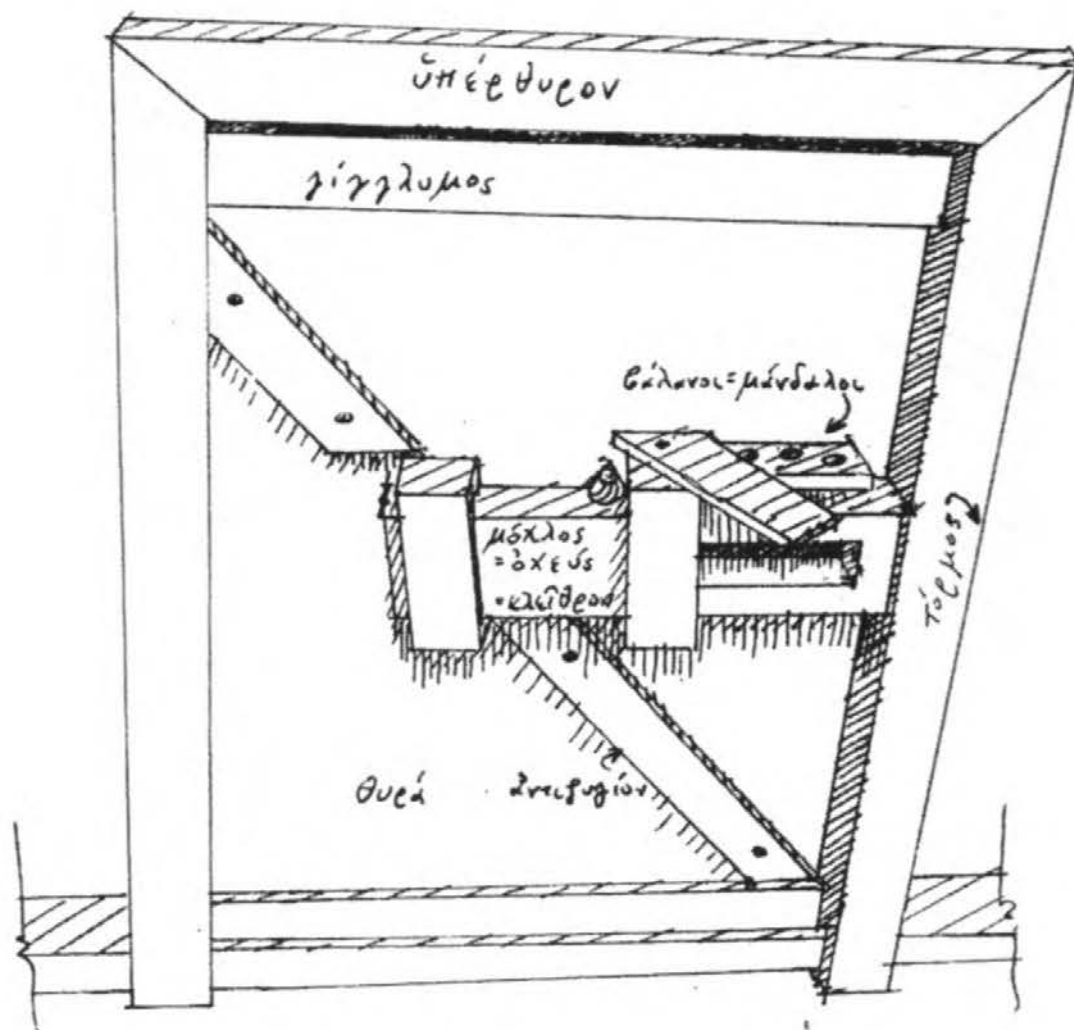


Figure 20: Modern example of a “Spartan lock”.

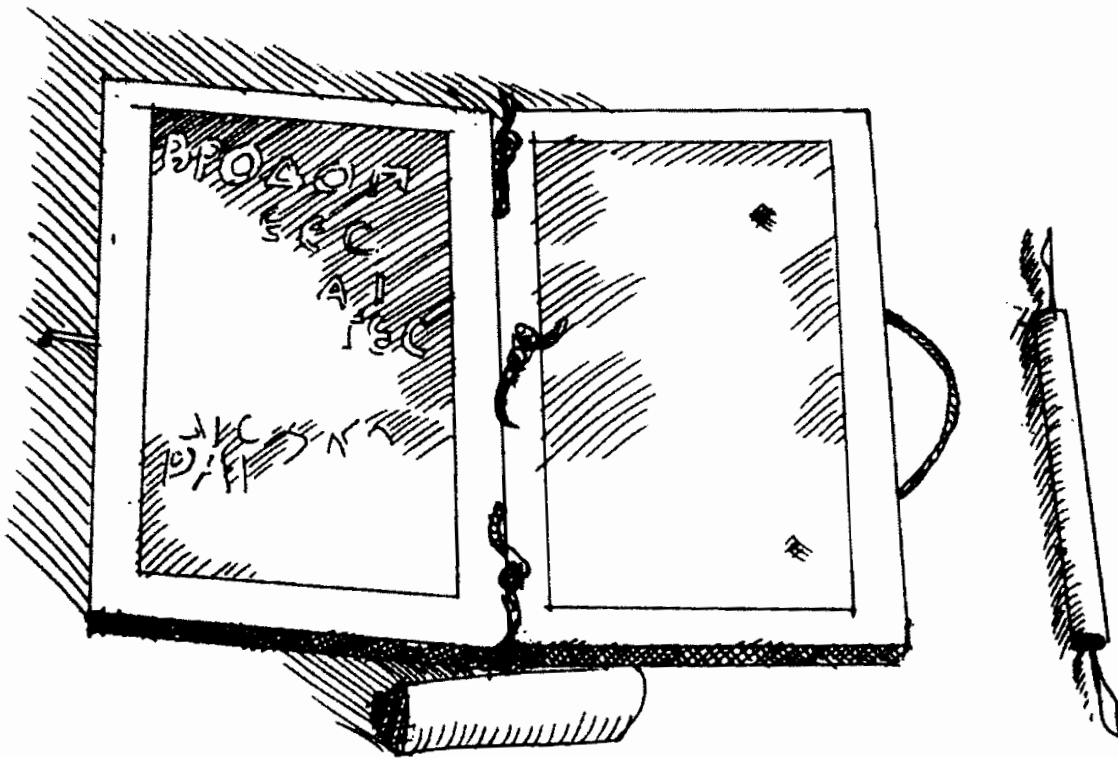


Figure 21: Writing-board set.



Figure 22: A child tries to feed his dead father (note fish by his feet).



Figure 23: Eos begs Zeus to save Memnon.



Figure 24: Hermes weighs the fates of Achilles and Memnon.

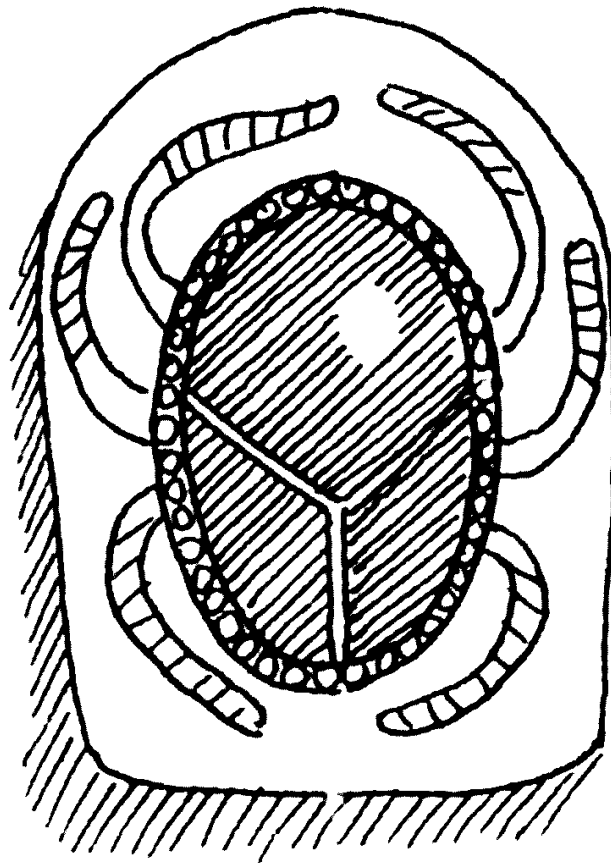


Figure 25: Text proving the early date of the “weighing of the heart” spell.

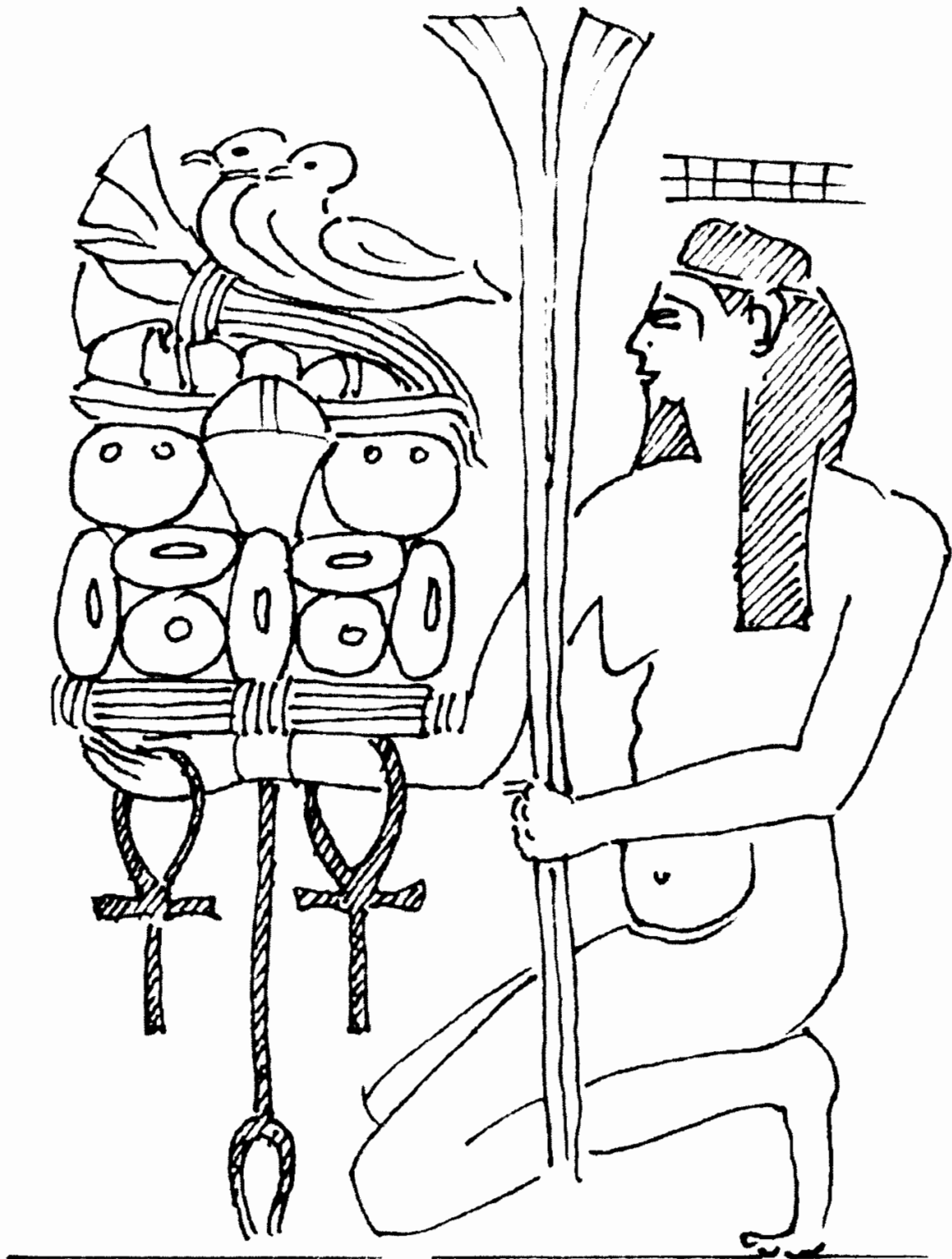


Figure 26: Ḥp'y depicted as a one-breasted male with blue hair.



Figure 27: Mutilated Amazons.

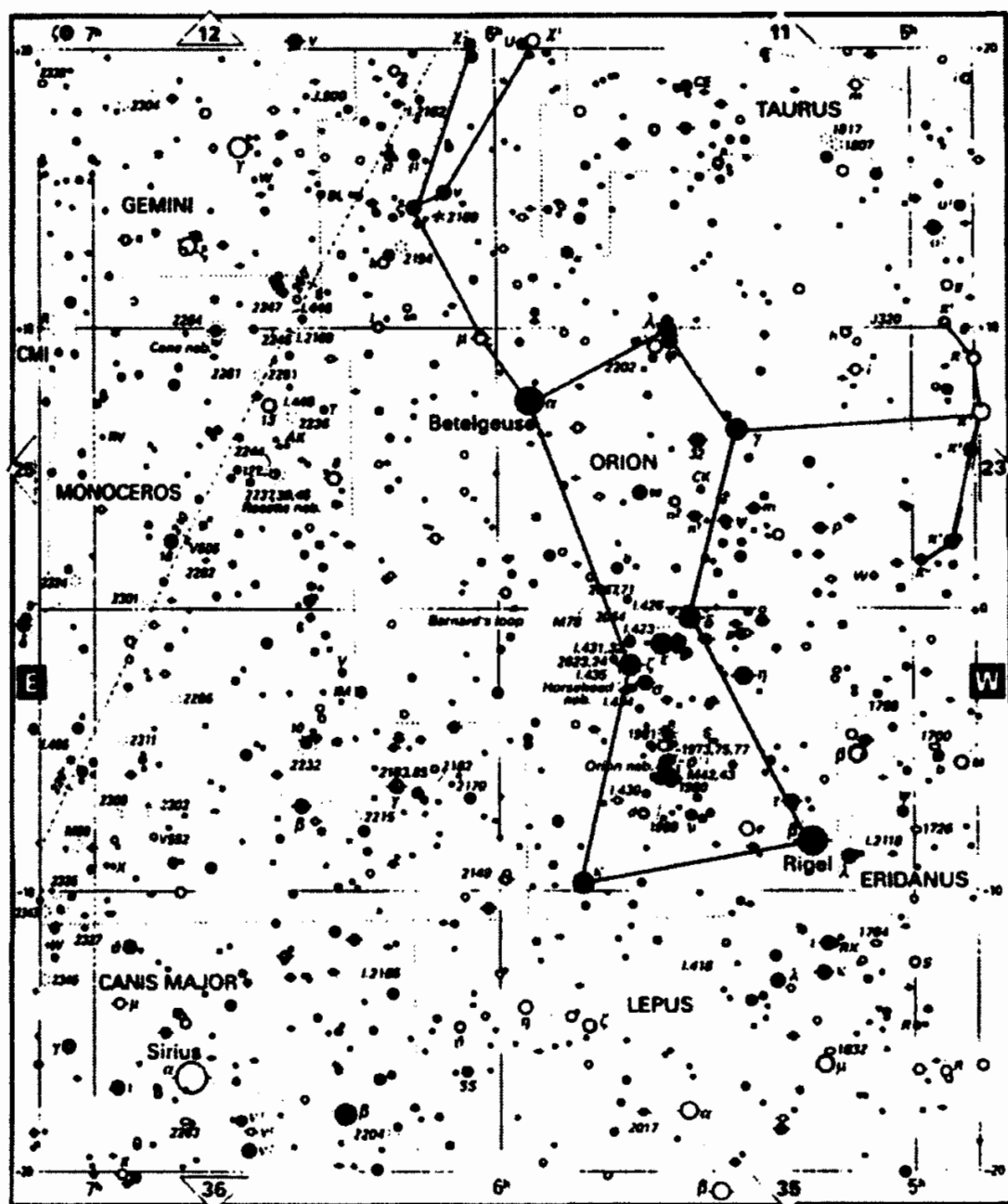


Figure 28: The constellation Orion; the belt consists of stars ζ , ϵ and δ .

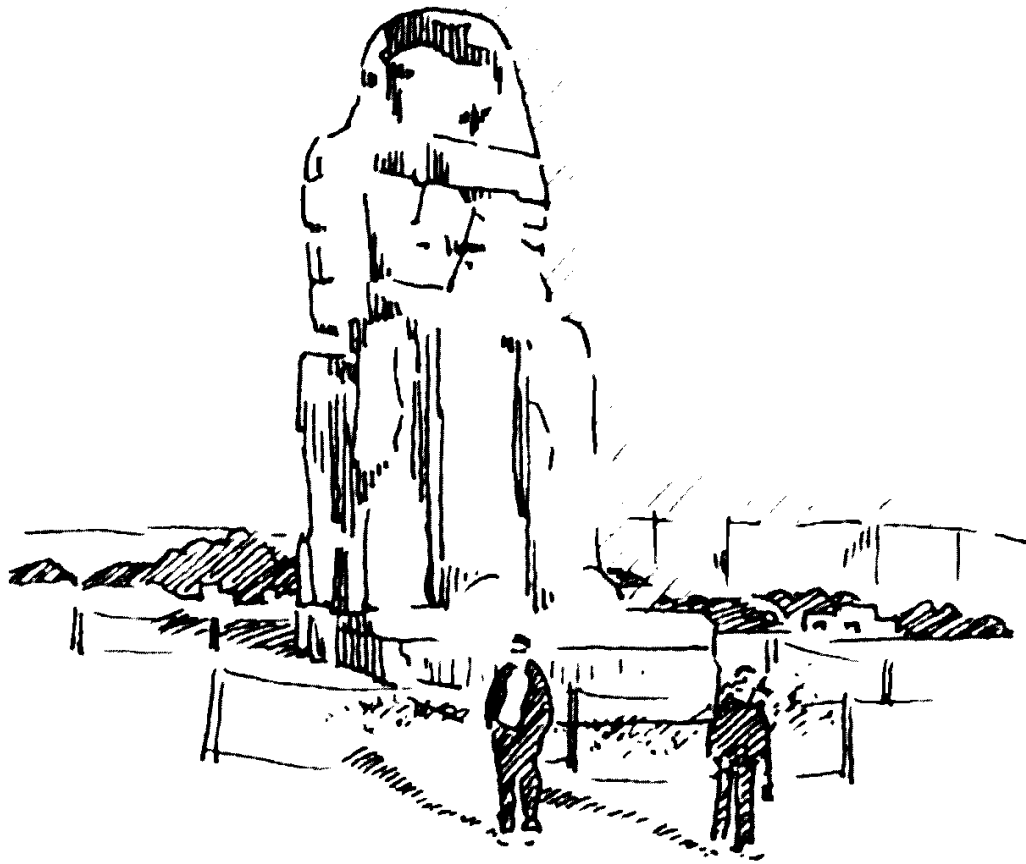


Figure 29: The “vocal” Memnon.

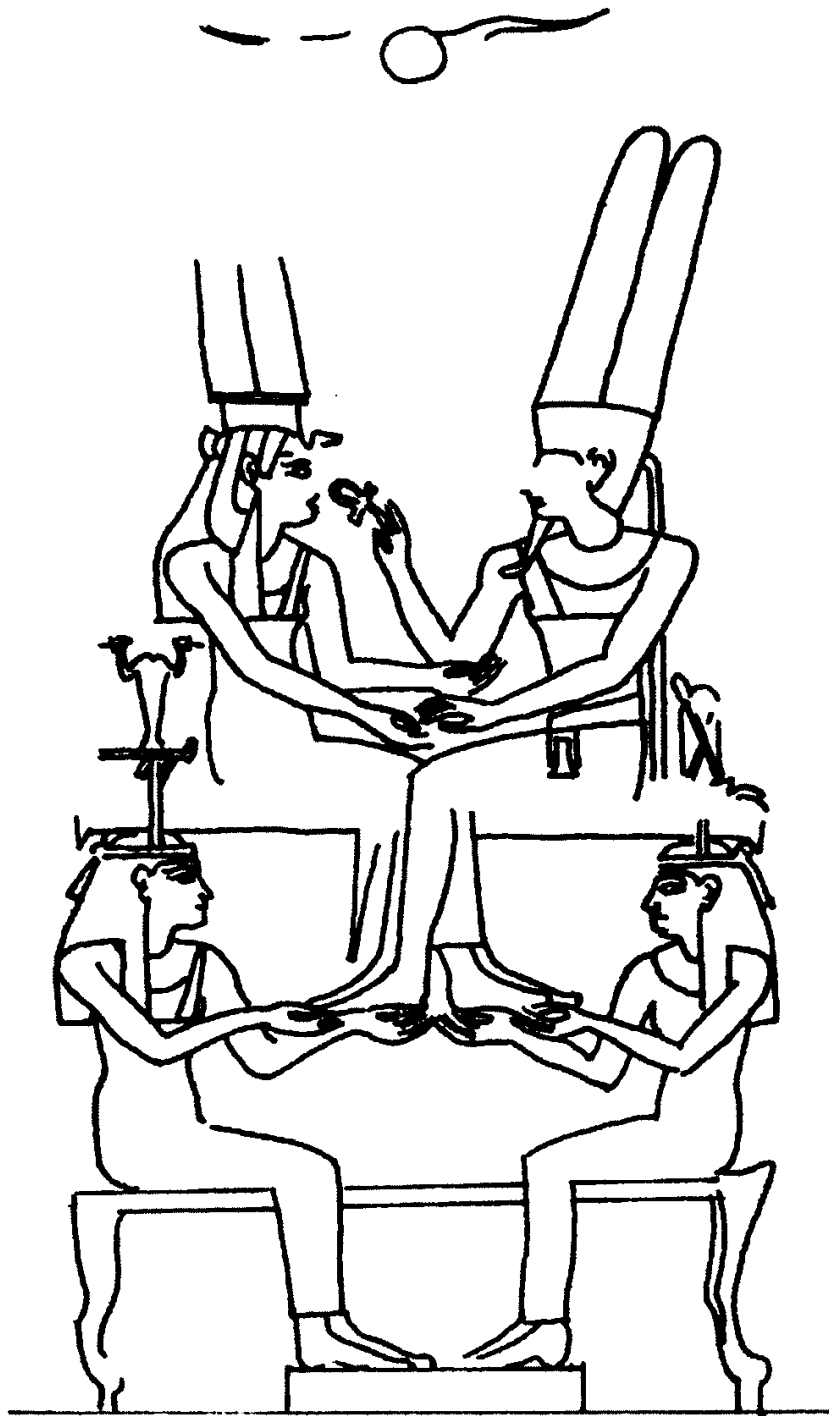


Figure 30: Amun-Ra visits Mutemuia.

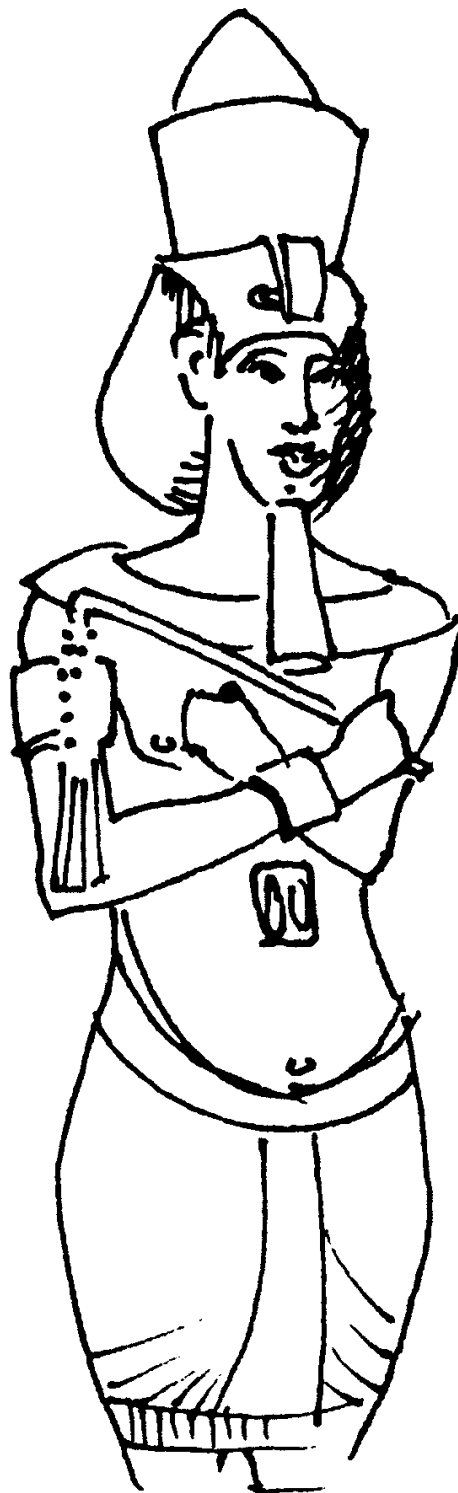


Figure 31: Amenthotep IV Akhenaten deformed by Fröhlich's syndrome.



Figure 32: Amenhotep III.

Figures



Figure 33: "Bluebeard".

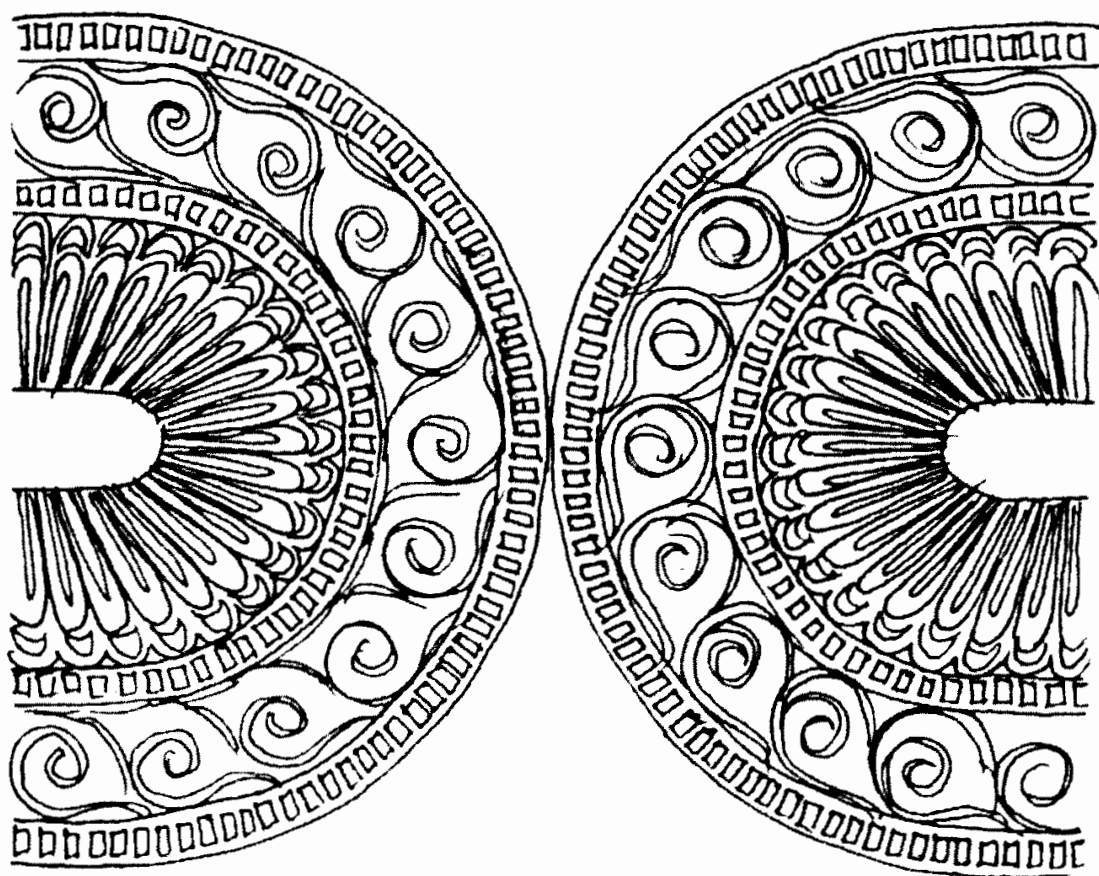


Figure 34: Blue-glass paste encrusted on a gypsum frieze.



Figure 35: Yuya with blue eyebrows.



Figure 36: Tut'ankhamūn or Smenkhare with one of Ankenaten's daughters in blue wig and crown.



Figure 37: Tut'ankhamun and 'Ankhesenamūn in blue perukes with the rayed sun-disk of Akenaten.

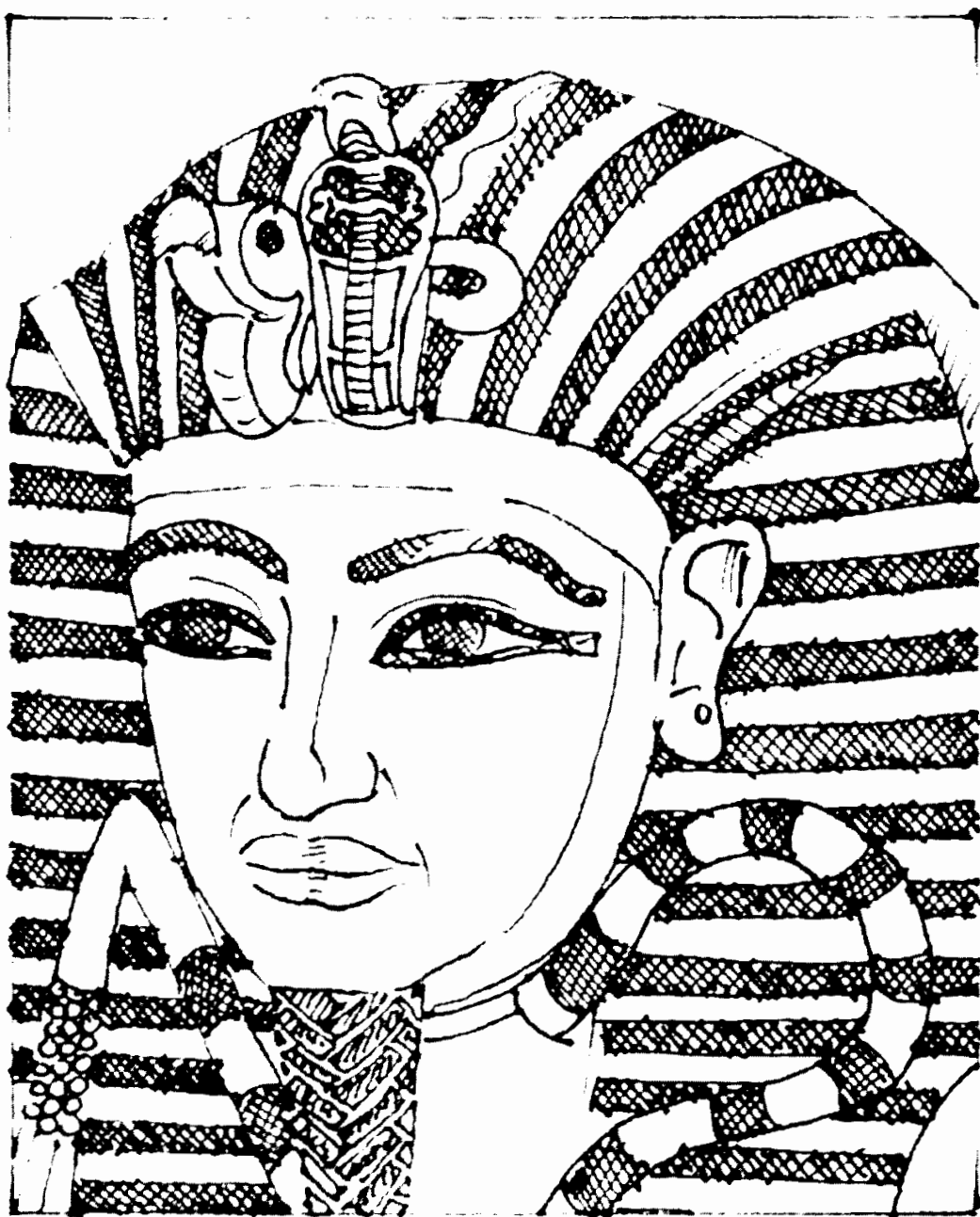


Figure 38: Tut`ankhamūn with blue eyebrows and postiche.



Figure 39: Henefer's mummy and Anubis with blue hair.

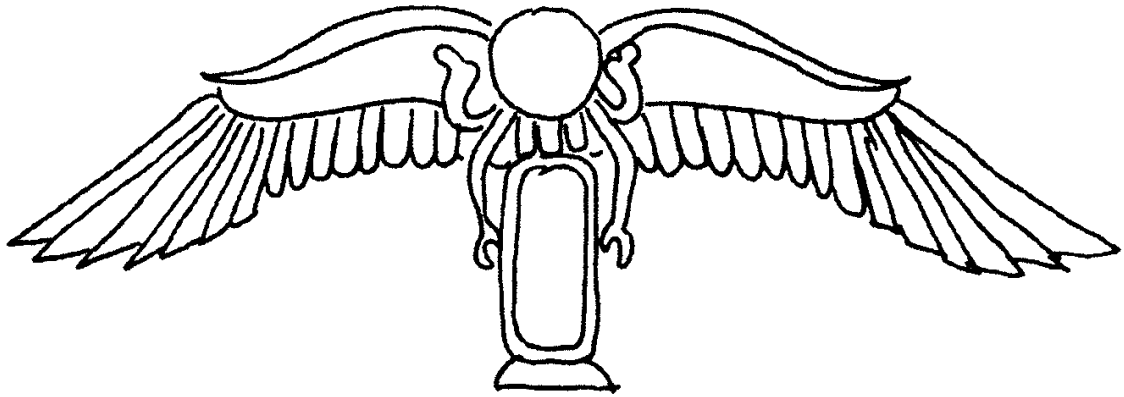


Figure 40: Sun-disk with falcon's wings and human arms and hands.

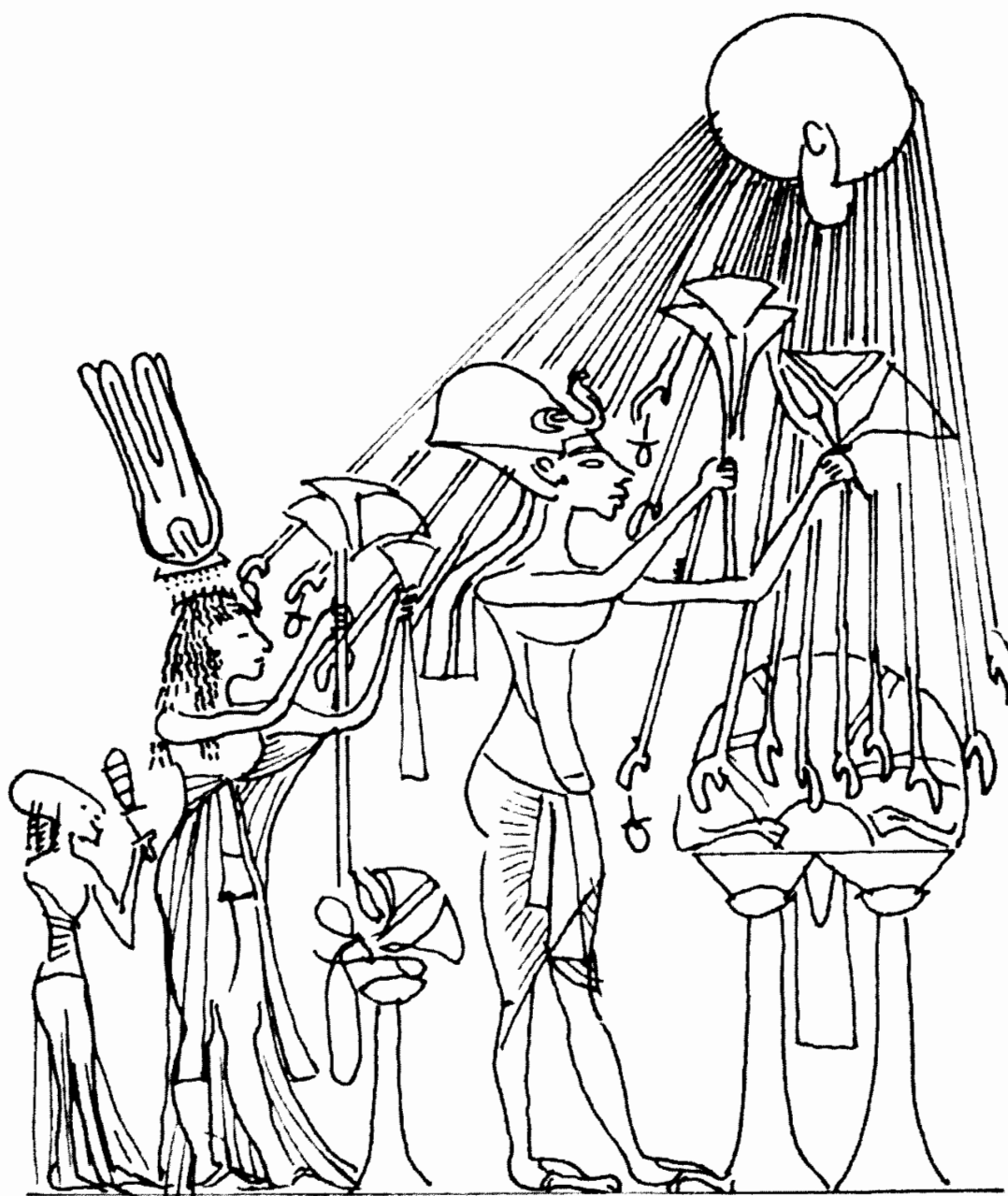


Figure 41: Akhenaten and family offering water-lilies to the rayed sun-disk.



Figure 42: Helios and rose on a Rhodian coin.

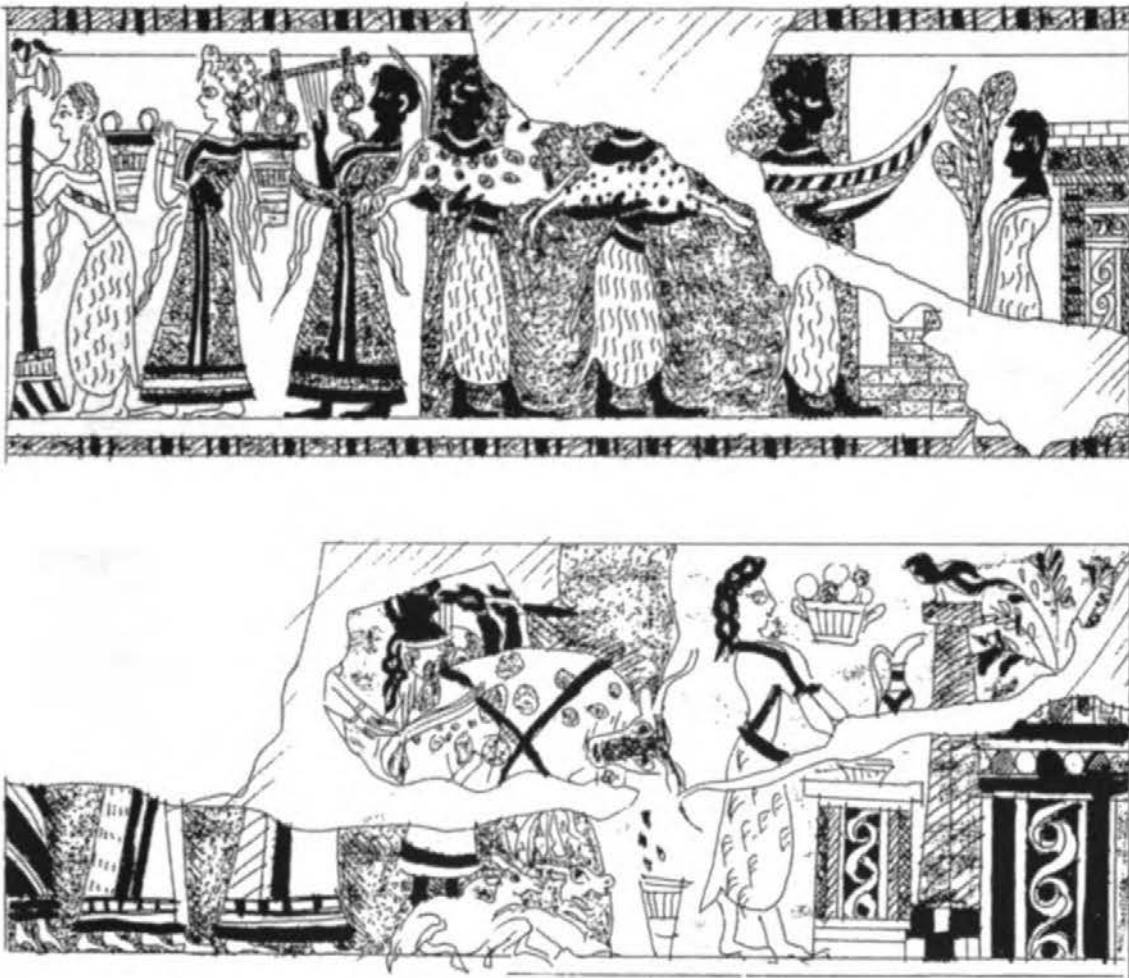


Figure 43: Mourners offering (blood?-)libations and a model of a boat to the dead.

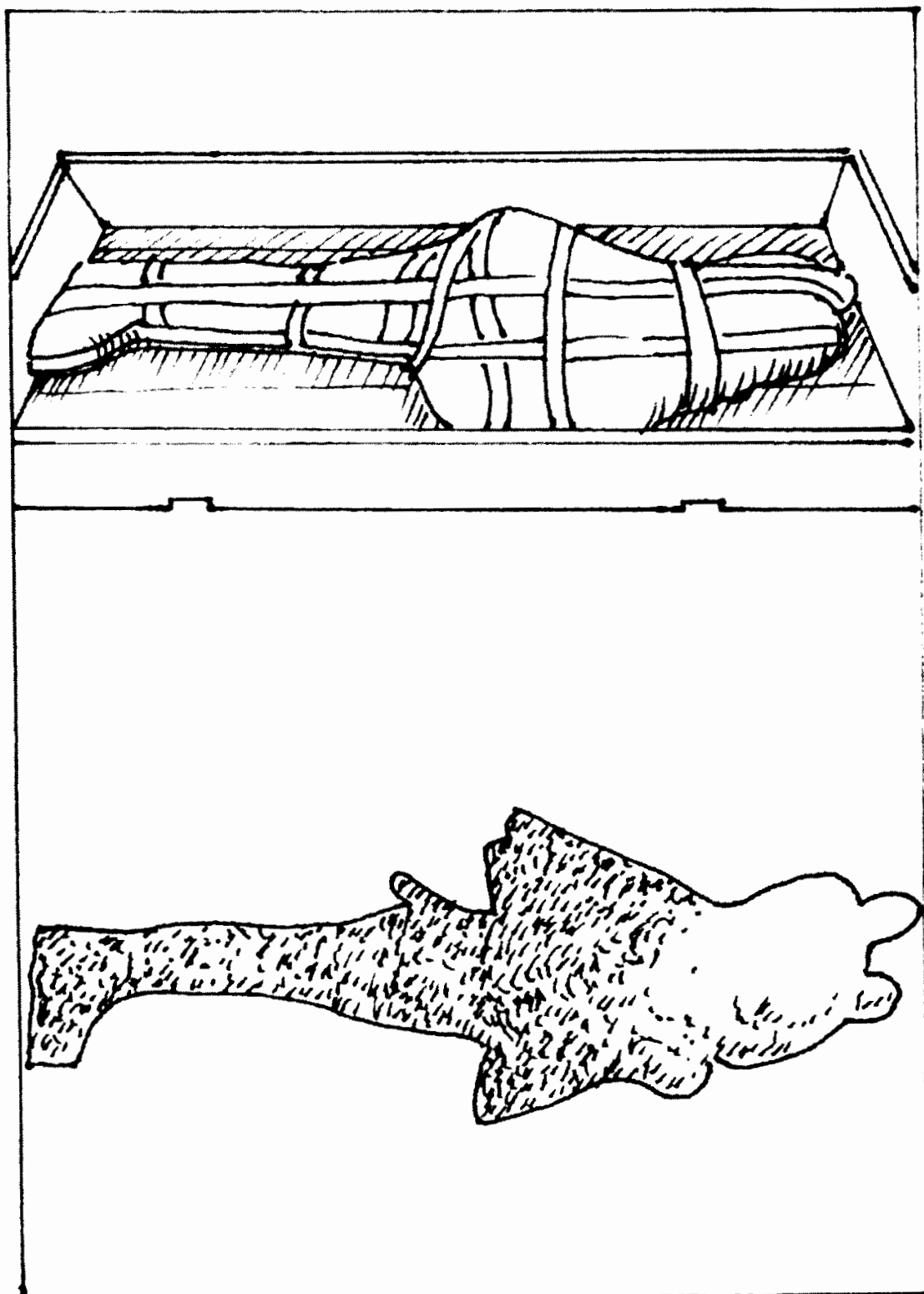


Figure 44: An Osiris-bed.



Figure 45: Lecanomancy: Aegeus consults the Delphic oracle.

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